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No.

·FROM ~~THE MEMORIAL FUND~~
~~OF~~ THE 20TH REGIMENT·
MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEER INFANTRY
TO THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF THE
·CITY OF BOSTON·

John C. Ropes

13 December. 1888.

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Committee of the Assn. of Officers of 7th Mass. Vol. Infantry.

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Head Quarters, Potomac Heights.
September 30th 1862.

My dear John.

I have not got letters from home for several days and have nothing to write to you about. I am still quietly living along here at Head Quarters. I have almost nothing to do. Col. Lee is better, but still rather feeble and quite unable to endure exposure, should he be called upon to do so. I have just heard of the death of Robert Tew, aide to Genl. Rodman in the late action. It will of course be a dreadful blow to his friends, especially his Mother.

I have thought for a day or two what a good thing it would be for you to come and here and spend a few days. You could be perfectly comfortable at some house in the town here, close to us, and you could ride over from here to the battle field and get a most excellent idea of the battle.

Then of course it would be delightful to me to see you once more and talk over everything, and tell you anything about the battles &c. You could probably get a pass at Washington which would take you round every where. If you came now you would be a good deal here at Head Quarters, and would see Col. Wade of the 1st, Col. Scully and others. Col. Scully is a great friend, aide to Gen Sykes here and I know you would enjoy hearing him tell of what he saw—

and did. I've got more pulitzer knowledge in ten minutes out of him, than in reading a book. He is about as truly jolly a man as you ever saw. When you would see and perhaps get acquainted with Bunner, Stevens and others. I know you would appreciate the trip, and I need not say how delightful beyond measure I should be to see you. I have plenty of time now—and the use of a horse, and you would be very comfortable.

Do think seriously of this.

Your affectionate brother
J Kerry.

Head Quarters Potomac Heights
October 5th 1862.

My dear John.

I have before me your two letters received October 3rd through Capt. Watkins, with $10.- enclosed. Much obliged to you for sending them. I am very sorry your eyes are still troublesome and very much obliged to you for sending on my things by Express. I shall probably get everything together now.

Go to the battle. I cannot begin to give you a good idea of things by a letter you must come on and have a talk and see the ground yourself. The enemy had an immense advantage of position. Go to our attack on the next day I can only refer you to the list of losses, especially to the loss of General Officers which was tremendous and which would have greatly crippled us in an offensive movement. A shattered Army can often hold an old position when to attack would have been impossible. It took the whole of Thursday to re-arrange the Army, to place the newly-arrived troops and to assign the different Generals &c. Go to the enemy's crossing, why the water is so low, even here that we could march across in line of battle and not wet our knees. They could cross anywhere, and in any number of Columns. Go to your idea of the rapidity with which troops can be moved and concentrated, I can only say that you have as yet no conception of the vastness of great movements and the time it takes.

Why, suppose Sumner's Corps to be drawn up in line of battle on the West Side, opposite our house, fronting Cambridge bridge, and their right resting at the corner of Charles and Beacon Streets, and you find it necessary to change front so as to make a line of battle on Charles Street, the right resting on the new Mill, and fronting towards Brookline and Longwood. It would take from day-break till 11 o'clock for the men to march steadily by together with the batteries and the necessary ammunition, wagons and Ambulances, without any halt or delay of any kind beyond the absolutely necessary halts for rest. I fail perfectly unable to describe to you what is so perfectly plain to me, for we seem to have no starting point.

You write of this and that delay and length of time employed &c. &c. and it seems to me perfectly natural that such should have been the case. I can only describe it by an example, as if one should expatiate on the immense time, viz: one year employed by the earth in going only once round the sun. Yet we know how tremendous is the earth's speed although the daily change of climate &c. is imperceptible to us. So it is if I should wonder at the long time, say several months, taken up in deciding a most important and difficult case of law and wonder why enough lawyers were not employed to do it up in a morning.

However, besides all this I acknowledge that the action of some Officers high in command is generally acknowledged to have

been reckless, to say the least; and if I could have a talk with you I think I could explain to your satisfaction why Mc. Clellan's most reasonable plans were not successfully carried out. I do not care to write everything. Of course, do not on any consideration repeat this or give my authority for the statement. I write in perfect confidence.

I have never seen Walcott. Macy was sent to Washington to arm and equip the recruits arrived there, a few days before the battle. He was unable to get up till the next day. He, however, heard the tremendous fire 30 miles off at Rockland, and hurried on as fast as his poor broken down horse could go. He said it was awful to him, the suspense and his entire ignorance of how the day was going and where we were, and all day long from dawn till night the tremendous roaring of artillery. He met a man riding back from the field and hailed him: "Is Sumner's Corps in?" Answer: "In! yes, in all over." He said he probably suffered more by suspense and anxiety, than if he had been wounded. As to whether the battle was fought well, I should say most undoubtedly yes. Both parties closed up and took and gave the most destructive fire at very short range, and both parties remained under fire from batteries at short range till almost destroyed. I doubt if soldierly qualities were ever better displayed. I believe I have now answered everything in reference to the battle that I feel at liberty to commit to writing. I do not know whether anything I have written commends itself to your judgment or not, but I wish

here to repeat in the most positive and emphatic manner that the English language can express, that it is my earnest wish that no part whatever of this letter, or of any subsequent or former letters be in any way ever printed, published or paraphrased. I am and always shall be delighted to write to you and to my relatives and friends generally, about everything of interest that I see here, and to answer any questions whatever respecting battles, &c., but I cannot bear the idea that my letters should be printed or used in any way but the way in which I write them to be used, to wit: for you to read and if they wish it, for any others of the family or of our familiar friends, to whom you may choose to show them. Excepting always the one case where my letters state facts in relation to the safety &c of Officers and others whose friends may be anxious about them.

I hope you will not think I have written too much on this point, for I wish to make it perfectly clear. All well here. Mrs. Lee came yesterday P.M. quite unexpected, and has lodgings in the town. She looks perfectly well. Colonel better. Love to all.

Your affectionate brother
W Henry.

Camp 2d Regiment Bolivar Heights
October 18th Saturday 11 A.M. 1862.

Dear Lol...

I returned about an hour ago from the expedition on which I started just after I bade you good bye. We drove in a small force of Rebels and occupied Charlestown, and left it at noon yesterday because a large force of Rebels were approaching. Porter, I hear, crossed above and we heard his guns. Our Regiment, of course, was in the advance as much as possible and picketing the whole time. No fighting. The usual amount of hard marching and exposure. The affair very well managed, and on the whole as little disagreeable as is possible for these most unpleasant of all military movements. No mud.

I shall send your pipe by Col. Revere's servant who leaves in a few days for Boston. I enclose the Power of Attorney. Nothing yet of the box or notice. No letters from home. Write soon and tell me about the boxes, tent, &c. and if the box is lost please order a duplicate copy immediately. I hope you had a pleasant journey. Johnny Gray came to day the day you left. The rebs proving that you ought to have staid a week longer, at least.

Please ask Nixon if he can make me a case for my overcoat and if he wants the measure. There must be 5 button holes, one in the

middle, behind. Let the Cape be only long enough to reach the wrist, that is about ½ way between wrist and elbow. Cape must nearly match in color, of course. Please send on some time when you have a chance 1 lb. best green tea. I am told it is very good for a night of picket & guard, and very nice. I hope you will get your valise all right. Give them all my love at home, and tell them to write. I shall acknowledge the receipt of the box &c., when I get them.

Please let me know if convenient whether Mrs. Dr. Jeffries ever got my note of thanks for the Ginger. I fear very many letters have miscarried of late. for a letter thief has been found at Division Head Quarters. Genl. Pennock is a good Officer, careful and wide awake. Mr. Clellan came up to Charlestown day before yesterday. We took 1 gun, some prisoners and 300 bushels wheat, which last was carried back by a special train sent up from the ferry.

All friends here desire regards. I hear another expedition goes out some where to-day.

Your affectionate brother

Mott.

20th Regiment Infantry,
19th October 1862.

Dear John.

I have just got your letter dated Baltimore 16th ... am delighted to know that you found your relief. I have not yet got the bundle. I wrote you of our safe return &c. &c. And you think one day more you might have seen John Gray and a battle, and then driven over to Charlestown with Genl. McClellan, and finally got to Washington and home as soon as you now will. Do you would none of our counsel and advice; and hope reaped the bitter fruits. I want my Buffalo and the blanket awfully. It is horribly cold at night, although so warm in the day time that we enjoy a bath in the river.

I wanted of no want to get quite a supply of preserved meats fruits, pickles, &c. &c. from Boston, better than those we get here. Can you call at W. K. Davis & Co. or Davis Underwood & Co. (whichever is the better and cheaper) and get one of their printed Catalogues and make some enquiries as to price &c. in case we should order a quantity to be sent on by Express.

I am perfectly disgusted with my position here. That little cocky fool, Curtis, is my First Lieutenant. I think this is shameful considering I have been more with the Regiment and seen more service and been in more battles than any Lieutenant in the Regiment,

1st or 2d. I think now Capt. Shepard is acting Major I never
to have command of my Company. I have spoken to the Colonel
about it, and I think he will make some change in the assignment of
officers but he of course does not see it in the same light I do. My
friends here, Herbert, Macy, and Milton all say it is abominable
to treat me so, &c. However, I shall hope for the best and at present
of course I must submit, endure. Time generally brings all right.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

20th Regiment Bolivar
21st October 1862.

Dear John.

We will likely shall advance soon. Everything looks like it. We of course may not go, but Milton who generally knows says we shall. It is awfully cold and I have suffered very much for want of warm clothing for the night. I most earnestly await the arrival of the box containing Knapsack &c. Please send on as soon as you can by Express 2 very large and warm blankets, or 3 if you cannot find any very large and warm. Also another pair of my thick ribbed drawers another woolen shirt, 2 moderately thick undershirts, and 3 pairs blue woolen socks. All these in addition to the Buffalo skin and the other things I have written for. Also send the extra pair dark blue pants left in the large trunk. Also the blankets, any spare ones would do as well. Better get some ones, only warmth wanted.

If we march I shall need money, for we shall not get paid. Please therefore, send me by mail $25.- say $10.- first, then $5.- at a time. Send, if possible, U.S. ones and small change.

Herbert is much obliged for the contents of the bundle, and desires you to tell his father he has received them.

On the whole better send also the thick dress coat and home.

in my thank for Matrimonial Ending. Those things cannot much as
celebrate we are in single countries with than I shall end everything.
Vienna. I hope we shall be settled soon.

Your affectionate brother
Percy.

Enclosed letter for Lizzie.

Camp 2d Regiment Volunteers
October 28th 1862.

My dear John.

I have received some of the [illegible] and am delighted to hear such a pleasant trip home, and that you have received the cover of Utterson, &c. The man by whom I intend to send your pipe has strained his ankle and will not go for several days. I shall also probably be detained by him. I shall inquire to-day for the trunk. Are the Express companies converge into Adams & Co. here.

We have had a very heavy rain and I find that my rubber tent lets in water in the seams which fasten the canvas to the top of the tent. I never saw Rubber goods before in which the seams were left in this way. Any one could see at a glance that water would leak in. Always the seams should be covered with the pure Rubber in the gum state and allowed to harden. I shall cover the seams with wax or tallow.

Do not let the new tent be made in this way. Let every part be waterproof. If it is not too late let the back be made whole in one piece with a hole for the ridge pole. If necessary to bring it within weight, reduce the size to 5 ft. 2 inches each way, instead of 5 ft. 6 inches. If still Rubber cloth will be too heavy, let the tent be made of common cotton or linen cloth, whichever is lighter,

and more waterproof. — At the back be whole, not divided. In every respect like the rubber tent would be.

I cannot but think $20.- an enormous price for it, but I have but suppose one must pay for experiments. As it has turned out I have already had $20.- worth out of it. Whenever you send me a box put in a bottle of dark Brandy (Remember) Dr. [illegible] lately. Boxes are often delayed and the Brandy rarely comes amiss.

Curtis is changed to Company I and I now command K., and we are now full of business. Regular drills and Company duties well occupy the time.

Last night we had ½ inch of ice. Rather tough for shelter tents and an insufficient supply of blankets. Everything is comfortable now with this exception. Send me some more stamps. I never got those you sent nor the legal letter nor the $2.- (or $4.=) Father sent. Send the $25.- I wrote for as soon as possible.

Captains Kray and Shepard Herbert Murphy, Hilton, and others send kind regards, &c.

Your affectionate brother
H Henry

20th Regiment, near Occoquan, Va.
November 5th 1862.

My dear John.

We have now been nearly a week on the march, beautiful weather, though cool at night and a very beautiful country to travel through. We have as usual been worked to the utmost and been often on picket, and day before yesterday we drew up to support a battery, loaded and primed, and there was considerable Artillery on our right, but we were not engaged. The enemy seem to be retreating, and we advancing in every word. I have appreciated full, the value of the Buffalo, in which I have slept comfortably, every night, although my rubber blanket has often been covered with ice, from the dew frozen. I hope you will succeed in rolling a light and dry coat. I wonder if it would be possible to get oiled silk, of course cloth, but strong and light. I should think this would be excellent, if not too expensive. However, I have no doubt you will get the best thing.

I have written to you of the disposition of the things that came in Mr. Johnson's box. I shall try to send home very soon several books &c &c by express. Do not let them send me any more books till we come to some stopping place. I always like some small books to carry, but as I have on the whole little time to read, I prefer to read only the most important books. I have not yet read the best novels,

histories and books of poetry and therefore do not care to have any but such standard books sent me. I should very much like a "Riverside" Edition of Scott's Poems (or a part of them), & if possible a volume of Napier's Peninsular War, or some good history of Cromwell. I am rather poorly posted on both these important epochs. I have heard of a "Camp Kettle" sold at home consisting of an iron pot of moderate size, inside of which packs cups & spoons &c. &c. If you happen to see such a thing, please let me know and tell me the size and contents.

As to the delay in my letters, it may have been partly owing to the direction. No need of putting on "Dana's Brigade" as the letters are taken by a Division mail carrier, who knows every Regiment in this Division and does not leave letters at the different Brigade Head Quarters. Better always, direct "Lieut. Rogers, 2d Wis. Vol. Inf., 2d Corps, 2d Division, Washington, D. C." I have no doubt "Washington D. C." is generally enough, but I often get letters thus directed endorsed in pencil "Sedgwick". Perhaps "Sumner's Corps, Sedgwick's Division" is better than the number.

But love to all. Thanks for the $13.- received all right. The people about here are real Rebels and often refuse to sell anything for our money. Gold and Silver however are most eagerly sought after. Can you send me a few gold dollars in a letter? I dare say they would go a great way here although they may cost at home $1.20. Some 5 and 10 ¢ pieces of Silver would be very convenient. You must tell all to excuse my not writing while on the march, it is very difficult. The people

there are not for tea and coffee and will give you a sheep for a pound or two of either.

Your affectionate brother

J. Perry.

Camp 20th Regiment, Warrenton, Va.
November 9th 1862.

Dear John.

I thank you for your very interesting letter of the 31st October and 1st November. I am delighted to hear of the prosperity of A.D.Φ. Please inform if any of the $10.75 received from C.B. Porter belonged to Herbert, and if it did, let me know how much, and I will pay him here, and you can credit the whole to me. Perhaps part (for Coat) is to be credited to Father. Please see to this. As to my tent, I see every day the necessity of its being as waterproof as possible. It occurred to me that to save weight, the back might be of cotton or linen, and the floor only of Rubber. If you find a material light enough, you can have not only a whole back, fastened to the floor, but a front also to open just like the back of my present heavy tent. I dare say you can get a kind of coarse oiled or prepared silk, like a balloon. I give these directions all in case you have not yet decided upon a material and given orders, not by any means to interfere in case you have already decided on style and material. I feel sure Adams Express will soon run to the Army. I shall be delighted to see Elliott again. I hardly know what to think of the Regiment now. Dreher was drunk the other day, when we were before the enemy, and in line of battle, and Sheppard had to take command. Lucy is detailed as

Brig. Quarter Master and no doubt is glad to get into a decent— place. (Do not mention that about Decher, of course). I believe I did not tell you that Col. Hall, Commanding Brigade asked me to be on his staff, but declined on the ground of duty to be with my Regiment and Company, especially as we expected active service. Do not mention this either. Herbert, Abbott and Potter are my only friends now in the Regiment. I am exceedingly sorry to lose Mercy, but he came and had a long talk with me, and I know his reasons are good and he does right. I do not dare to consider the future of the poor old 20th. Col. Lee, I suppose, will never return to us. Col. Palfrey laid up for months. So Major Bartlett gone to another Regiment, and the probability of Decher, a crazy drunken Dutchman, for Major, and Commanding Officer! If we have another fight and the Lord delivers us, we have one good thing however, as good a Brigade Commander as there is anywhere, a young man with a clear head.

I am much interested in what you and Mary Ann tell about Mr. Bodwin. Perhaps he would like to visit the Army when we come to a stop. I should be delighted to show him round, and do all I could for him.

There is a terrible feeling against England in the Army, especially among the Western troops. I believe that if we put down the Rebellion this Autumn, that an English war would be hailed with joy by the great body of the Army. With the Irish there is a settled

determination to have a Rebellion against England as soon as this war is over, and they seem to consider this war more as a sort of preparation. I feel very sorry for this, but it is true.

Give my love to Roland, if you see him. I am glad he is recovering so well. He had a bad looking wound. Send me some stamps and the rest of the $25.- I wrote for. I have now received $13.-. If possible, send a little gold and silver.

Your affectionate brother

Henry.

Camp 20th Regiment, Worcester, Ms.
Wednesday, November 12th 1862.

My dear John.

I have been so busy with my Muster Rolls &c., for the last few days that I have been unable to write home. I received to-day the Atlantic for November, and 3 papers, no letters for some days. I have received a most interesting and able letter from Margeltine dated Nimes, France.

The whole Army is depressed and broken spirited, and full of despondency and indignation at Mc Clellan's removal. Mc bade no farewell, and I thought he never looked better, though very sad. Burnside is no doubt an able man, but I have never yet heard of his doing anything on a very large scale. He seems to assume the Command unwillingly, and I hear he only is to hold it until Hooker gets well. Everyone feels gloomy and reckless of what may come. When I consider this in connection with the recent elections, I almost despair for the Country.

The Regiment is in a disgusting state. Dreher and Shepard make fools of themselves every day, and the poor old 20th is the laughing stock of the Brigade, whenever either attempts the simplest manoeuvre. A letter has been written to our old Major Revere stating our lack of Officers and begging him to resume his old Command. I have signed it most willingly. He is our only hope. Dreher and Shepard are

furious at the letter and would not sign. Murphy was with them. Beside this letter which is a perfectly respectful, proper and public one, another letter has been written privately, which only Cabot, Mason, Wilkins, Curtis, Patten and I have signed, stating the true case, and plainly setting forth Dreher's ignorance, violence and conceit, and Shepard's foolishness and (of late) insufferable self-confidence. I hope these will succeed. If they do not, we feel that any relief would be eagerly snatched at. I mean to stick by the 20th to the last, but the present horrible state of the Regiment is unendurable. Shepard and Dreher know how much they are despised by the old Officers and are both uncivil and overbearing to the last degree. I suppose this is a gloomy letter, for so I feel. However, I keep heart, and hope for better things both for the Regiment and the Country. I do not anticipate an advance or a great battle. A Winter Campaign is as impossible as an Army without food, and amounts to much the same thing.

Love to all.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Camp 20th Regiment (Mary. Volunteers)
Harrenton, Va. November 14th 1862.

My dear John.

I have been so busy, as not to have had time to write anything but a hurried note to you for some days. I received last evening yours of November 3d inclosing $5.- and 12 stamps, but no reference about the mortgage you spoke of. This I suppose you omitted to put in. I shall expect it in your next. In consequence of our march, the pay-rolls are again delayed, and although two months were due on November 1st, I suppose we shall have to wait a long time yet for our pay. So please continue to send small sums say $5.- or $2.- in your letters. U.S. money, gold or silver, is the only kind which passes here. Send ones or twos, or postage currency if possible. Food is very scarce here, and very dear, but if we stay, the Commissary will soon supply us quite well. I have now received $18.- in all. Please send up the $50.- In a campaign one must guard against every risk, and it is of course possible to be taken prisoner, when to be without money would be very awkward.

Jones is now quite ill, and like all simple fellows, so he, thinks he is about used up and probably will never recover. He has a slight fever now and is getting along nicely. I have had some trouble with him of late. He is, as you know, a very foolish, simple, green fellow, and of late he got into a train of neglect in his duties and loafing about with

the men, and occasionally grumbling. Then he became ill, and finally I told him that he might either leave or change his conduct, & he promptly replied he would do both, wishing to remain till pay day, to collect some debts due him from men in the Regiment. I then found he expected me to pay his passage to Boston, perhaps $20.- and said you made a distinct agreement with him to the effect that whenever I should discharge him I was to send him back. Now, I never understood this to be the agreement, especially when a man is discharged for bad conduct. I have sent back among my private papers the written agreement with Jones signed in your office, and I think it is there distinctly stated that I would not agree to pay his passage home, that is of course unless he returned with me. Of course, I shall abide by any agreement you made, but I wish you would write to me what the stipulation was, and if you like, open my box and take out the original agreement from among my papers. It seems to me absurd that a man can at any time behave badly and be discharged and then get his passage paid back to Boston. The only hold I have on him is the fear of discharge and this takes that away. Since Jones behaved so badly however he seemed to repent came to me and said he was very sorry indeed to have to leave, and then set about his duties in the most active manner and showed by his energy and faithfulness that he wished to atone for past defects. I saw this and had determined to keep him after all; but since then he has fallen sick and I may be obliged to part with him. If I do now, I shall pay his

way to Boston after all, because he fell sick in my employ, and was at the time doing well, but I wish to know what the agreement was with him.

Please send by mail to me when you can, three writing pads and envelopes. Cannot you fold them square instead of rolling them up?

I understand "Gregg's tactics" are now adopted. Please send me a copy. Also want (when you send a box) 4 pieces soap ball twine, my "Army Regulations" (in hand), a box Shaving case and a pocket pocketbook. These things, I suppose, will reach me in a winter quarters it is all. I have written you what I think of Mc. Clellan's removal. Still we must support the Government. At present my confidence in Lincoln and McClellan is about equal. Tell me what you think of the "Peoples" party and of the recent democratic victories. I hope the country will sustain the war at least one year more. For my part I can see no way but war. Peace means truce, nothing more. The South must be crushed, or the North i.e. the country & the Republic will perish. If the South conquer, I see nothing but war forever, unless indeed we become so far demoralized as to consent to be the South's servants. They will rule or perish, and so they have placed this as the issue. I see our duty clearly to utterly destroy them as a united people. The governing class destroyed and their places filled with Northern emigrants, the two would unite and become with the old North a great nation once more. We must look solely at the end to be accomplished, the total subjection of the Rebellion, and

overlook everything between, no matter what expense or what sacrifice of life is to come? The more I see and the more I think, the more I am convinced this is so, and the more willing I am to help to gain the end.

My situation here is very uncomfortable, but we hope for better things. Remember the Colored and Theo. Lee?

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

On Picket, near Falmouth, Va.
Wednesday, 19th = November 1862.

My dear John.

I wrote to Father yesterday, giving an account of our march to this place. Capt. McInnes and Lieut. Abbott have just arrived safe and well, and I have received from the latter your letter of the 11th and Father's of the 12th, enclosing $25.- in government money. Please thank Father for sending this. I am very glad you have at last got the tent. Tell me if there is a "whole track", as I wrote about in one of my last letters. I have received no letter about the Estates. As to Mc. Clellan I have begun to feel a little as you did. As far as we can now judge, I think Mc. Clellan should either have advanced as ordered, or resigned and resigned. I can hardly account for his delaying and not refusing, especially as you seem to think he intentionally delayed. Since we came here vast columns of troops, I hear 5 Corps in all, have moved up. Burnside passed this morning and the troops are still passing, 3 columns abreast. It is a heavy rain storm, but warm. It rained all night and much of yesterday. No signs of clearing off. It looks like an advance beyond the river, but I still hold to my former opinion that nothing will be accomplished from this side till Spring. I hear old Sumner says a "winter campaign" is possible. No one else I think would say so.

Sumner has his old Corps again and leads the way. I think the Army has got over the depression caused by Mc. Clellan's removal, and it is in good heart for anything but in case of serious reverse there would be a great want of confidence. Of course, in one sense, I know no more of Mc. Clellan than you at home, but I still retain and shall retain this feeling, that I am perfectly satisfied with him as Commander, and only wish to see him left to himself and untrammelled. I do not care much for Mc. Clellan's complaints about the Quarter Master Department. Delays may easily have occurred which would make both his and McClellan's statements true. I think Mc. Clellan is a far seeing man. He knows another year is necessary, and prefers a good Army next spring to a smaller and poorer one for a few weeks this Autumn. The people say the war must be finished in 9 months. Mc. Clellan says his plans merely to finish the war, whether 9 months or 9 years are required.

I am very glad to hear Mr. Boulnois' health is improved. I hope he will succeed in getting on some good staff. He had better try for some Major General's Staff where the staff is large, but I dare say he will meet with difficulty, on account of the feeling against England, and the claims of Line Officers to Staff appointments.

Please send me some gold dollars and silver change, if possible. The $25.- are full enough for present need, but in this country gold will buy what no paper will. People will not sell at all for paper

often I should be glad to pay 25 per cent premium for $1000.- in gold.
If you can do me send me a small true pocket-compass, please do. I
wonder I never thought to ask for one before.

I have many letters to answer which I must postpone till we get
to some sort of settled camp. I will write you as often as I can
and tell you everything I can about matters. My own opinion is that if
a winter campaign is attempted, it will signally fail. This I say
not without fairly thinking of the matter, and I think not influenced
by a desire for comfort and a dislike to face hardship and danger again.
We shall soon see. Did you ever place $30.- to Pamco's credit at
the Savings Bank? Let me know. I am much interested
in a book I have borrowed here "Tom Burke" by Chs. Lever.
Is it a fair picture of the era of Napoleon? It seems quite so to me.
Now Col. Lee is to return to us, and I am annoyed beyond
measure. Can it be his intention? I thought he had gone home.

Your affectionate brother,
Henry

Camp 20th Regiment near Falmouth
Va., November 22nd 1862, Saturday.

My dear John.

I have received yours of the 14th enclosing 20 stamps. The lantern, hatchet, &c. were all right, and so were Herbert's bottles and hatchet. I hope you will be able to send on the shelter tent very soon. I received the $25.- all right. I have asked for a small amount of gold and silver. I find it often is of great value, and passes when no paper money will. Abbotts baggage has not yet come, but he tells me he has Schalk's work, and a shirt for me. I have received no letter or agreement whatever about the Estates. I see you allude to the sale of the Hanover street Estate. When I get your letter I will fully consider the matter.

As to the Kettle stove, I think I shall not want it this autumn. I do not believe the stove part is of much use. I am astonished to hear that Col. Lee expects to return. I am sure he cannot stand it. He was really very ill at Bolivar. I am very glad for Stone, though I look upon joining that Regiment very much like joining the Boston Cadets, for there is small chance of their ever seeing service, and Cavalry service at best in this war is a mere sham. Herbert is much obliged to you for promising to get him the blanket &c. Capt. McDuc has been made Corps Quarter Master to Sigel, with

the rank of Lieut. Colonel. You do not appear to know that we left Capt. Schmidt sick at Bolivar. He never did 2 days duty but fell ill immediately.

We have moved our camp 2 or 3/4 mile to an excellent place on a hill and have begun to make ourselves a little comfortable. I see no signs of a move. We have had tremendous rains for 3 days, and the mud is very deep. I have no doubt the river here is very high. I am glad you did not order a cape for me. My old coat is pretty well worn out now, and I think I must have a new one. I enclose a description for Nadonis use. It ought not to cost more than $22." but I dare say you will have to pay as high as $25." or $30." My old one, made very large and thick and with a tremendous Cape was $26." only. I have found by experience that a great coat should be very light in the skirts for marching, and close at the waist to allow the belt to meet.

Herbert has just reminded me of the Clapp photographs. Please ask for me a complete set. including every one, Tutors, Professors, and all the extras such as buildings, trees &c. Let me have everything. Letters ask fifty times about it. Herbert has a splendid likeness of himself. clapp book size in uniform, bust only. He promised me one of these which he says you can ask his father for, and then have framed and kept for me. Many of the fellows here ask me for my pictures. I hardly know what cards you had taken of me. Please

Send me ~~in~~ a box, including at least one of each kind. Abbott wants one without whiskers if you have any. Please send me about 12 sheets post paper and 1/2 doz post paper envelopes. I think you had better send (when you send a box) 1 1/2 doz pocket handkerchiefs and 1/2 doz towels. Also a nice leather stock.

I am very sorry to hear from Abbott and Holmes that the general state of feeling at home is so unfavorable to a continued support of the war. They both say that the mutual separation of the Country is considered certain by almost all and that they hardly think the Country will support the war a year longer. If so, I am disappointed in the American people. I had thought the country was in earnest, but I fear the effect of party division. The Army absolutely needs a rest of 3 months, needs it just as tired horse needs rest, needs to get into comfortable quarters, sick get well & sickness and wounds and become ready for another campaign. Without such a rest the troops will be fit for very little when Spring comes. If the country will not endure this, it is a very hard matter. A General in his senses would undertake a winter Campaign in this Country, against an equal enemy. We ought to be allowed a rest after what we have done and suffered. It must be, and the Country may as well make up their minds to it first as last. The Army is all right for another year, if the people at home back down, they are a pretty poor set.

I believe I have no letters to acknowledge. Please do not

send any more books but what I ask for, I can hardly find room for them and do not like to throw them away.

It is more pleasant here now Abbott and Kolmer have returned. Both and several others send regards &c. to you.

Best love to all.

Your affectionate brother

Henry

Falmouth, Va. November 27th 1862

Thanksgiving Day.

My dear John.

I dare say you are getting up an appetite for a most excellent dinner while I write this, in a room of an old house in this town, where the Court Martial sits, during a recess of the Court. It has been found impossible to get a turkey, the nearest approach is a chicken, obtained by Capt. Cabot and Lieutenants Curtis and Watkins. For my part, after the Court adjourns at 3 O'clock, I intend to go to Camp and dine on a can of sealed Oysters and a can of sealed tomatoes, the most extravagant bill of fare I can get up. However, perhaps I may enjoy a better Christmas dinner, that is if we go into our long wished for winter-quarters. I shall try to be with you in spirit and have no doubt you will think of me.

I hear that the Colonel has got home, and am very glad of it, and hope he may now have a season of rest and be comfortable, which I know he cannot be while he is constantly expecting to retire. I see no signs of a move here, but we have twice had preparatory orders issued. We had a heavy rain day before yesterday, and I hear the roads to Aquia Creek are in an awful state. I do not see how we can make any move till the Railroad is completed, nor of what use a move will be when the Railroad is made, except to

hold the city which might be used to quarter part of the Army. The Rebels are easily seen on the other side and have several batteries.

I have received, as you know the $25.- but still wish you to send on some more, for you know we may possibly move, and like to be well supplied. I cannot ... a little supply of gold or silver.

Have you continued to take for me Copies of the "Pictorial History of the War?" and the "Rebellion Record?" I hope you have. As to my new Coat, if the light blue is hard to get for any reason, let it be of the dark blue. I have little preference but prefer light, if the color and quality are good. The Coat ought not to be a heavy or bulky one.

I have really no news to tell you. I am very busy on the Court Martial and shall be for several days to come. I get letters very irregularly now, and I fear that letter of yours about the Hanover Street property is lost. I have perfect confidence in your judgment in the matter.

Best love to all.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Camp 20th Regiment near Falmouth
Va. November 28th 1862.

My dear John.

I have this evening received yours of the 24th November and the 3 packages of paper and the 2 envelopes of envelopes, for all which much obliged. Do you intend to send me for James any receipt (or copy of the receipt) for his $30.- deposited in the Bank? I think you had better send some proof for him to have. Did you give also $5.- to his sister?

When do you intend to square up my accounts? I want often very much to know how much money I have at home, if any? I am delighted to hear you have succeeded with the tent. Mac is a brick. Do you remember how wide it is? i.e. the base or the triangle of the back. I want a sponge when you can send one, about as large when swelled as a small Cantaloupe Melon. Perhaps you can send it by mail.

How is Col. Lee really? Does he think of returning to the Regiment?

We are much better off now Abbott and Holmes are back, but still we look a Commander fearfully. I have almost nothing to say to Shepard now. Although we are not friendly at swords point.

Dr really can do nothing whatever for Mr. Boulnois, although

I should be delighted to aid him in any way. Can you not see Col. Reese (our old Major)? Perhaps he could help him to a staff either with or under old Sumner. I heard a very good story of him the other day. In one of the late battles, an Aide rode up from one of the Generals with the appalling news that the enemy had got round in his rear! "Then" said old Sumner "tell the General to face about his rear rank and fight them both ways."

I have no news to tell you. It is cold enough to freeze about every night, and warm enough to melt every day. Roads pretty good here, but bad toward Rappa Creek. Railroad getting on fast.

I can use "Thanksgiving" but can only hope that we may all meet again at some future day. Still I believe we shall have another year of war, and the chances are very much against a man's getting through twice what I have escaped.

Your affectionate brother

Henry

Camp 20th Regiment near Falmouth,
Va., Saturday, December 6th 1862.

My dear John.

I have to-night received a letter from Mother & the 2nd, which is the only one I have got for some days. Mother really thinks I sleep in a house at Falmouth. Not really and under only a Waller tent, a miserable protection indeed. My log-hut is getting on, but is delayed by yesterday's severe storm. It is very cold, and 2 or 3 inches of snow on the ground, and we really suffer a great deal. The men will soon get sick unless we get log huts or tents. They get little sleep on account of cold, and are up half the night hanging round fires. Besides the Commissary has appeared. They get nothing but meat and hard bread, and must have potatoes or onions. I wish you would send me some more money. Please do so. We may not be paid till January, although 5 months are now due. Then you know they have reduced Officers' pay, taxed them and raised the price of meat, sugar, &c. &c. I feel now sure we cannot move on account of the weather and roads also because the enemy are in strong force and well entrenched, and a great battle would be foolish when, if we won, we could not pursue. So I intend to prepare for winter, and so I have been so a general thing deprived of the comforts of life since last Christmas, &c. &c. you to get Mother to place me on the widow list and give me a turkey for the celebra-

tion of this day. I want you to get up a box, containing a roasted Turkey, a pot of Cranberry Sauce a plumpudding with sauce and some mince pies. I am not under you or so to quantity for one Christmas dinner, but you must imagine the lasting of a year. I know all these things will keep and I feel sure if you send them, quite soon I shall get them in time, as the Express will without doubt send them. If they do not have mince pies at home, order me — or 5 at some good confectionery and send them. Say if there is room put in a bottle of wine. As soon as I am sure of the Express, I shall order a supply of vegetables &c. &c., but I have determined, if possible, to celebrate Christmas in a home like manner. If convenient, put in a tongue, a Duck, anything you like, a cauliflower, turnips, all are like luxuries here.

We are having great changes in the Regiment, but I will write to you fully when I have a better chance. If is so cold my fingers are difficult to manage, and I fear my writing is rather crooked. Give my love to all. The Court Martial is over but I shall be 3 or 4 days in writing up the proceedings and shall then hope to have a house of my own to write and live comfortably in. I am sure a move is impossible. It would cost thousands of lives. Even here we are about as badly off as the English in the Crimea, and then we would be like the Greeks in the retreat from Persia. However, in two weeks I expect the Army will be knitted, supplies will be abundant, and the men healthy and comfortable.

C Abbott.

has a nice hut. Robert and Holmes a tent. I am the worst off of the officers, but thanks to my Buffalo and big Rubber blanket I can sleep warm. I hope you will let me hear my account stands. At any rate I shall rely on getting what I had expected to draw & large part of my future supplies from Boston by Capelo. You can get nothing here. Sometimes butter at $1.- a lb. and potatoes $1.- a peck.

Write soon and tell me what you think of the President — and the Administration. I am in much doubt.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

P.S. You must excuse blots, for the ink freezes as I write. Thermometer (I suppose) about 25° Fahrenheit.

Camp 20th Regiment near Falmouth,
Va, December 10th 1862.

My dear John.

I hardly know how to account for the long silence of mine all at home. I have received the newspapers, the account of the campaign by the Prince de Joinville, and the sponge by mail, but no letters. I am now about through with my Court Martial. To-day and yesterday are warmer than we have had for nearly a week. My log house is done, and only wait for the Quartermaster to get some Rubber tents to draw some to cover it with. We have had 3 days of awfully cold weather. I hear that several men have frozen to death, and all but those in log huts have suffered awfully. The Army will be dreadfully reduced by illness if we attempt to move in such weather, or if we longer keep up this state of constant expectation of a move. Only 2 days ago we got quite positive orders to build huts and the Artillery were ordered to build Stables, and this morning I hear from the best authority that we move to-morrow morning across the river. Yet only 10 days or a week ago positive orders came in the same way, rations and 60 rounds ammunition were distributed and the order was to move at 11 P.M. At 10 however, it was countermanded, and here we are still. I hear and believe that the enemy have fallen back, but, unless it is merely a small force to hold the city. I do not see any use of crossing the river.

I cannot think a regular advance on Richmond, with the necessary scouting, picketing, reconnoissance &c. is contemplated. The roads are now bad in fact, made hard frozen are impassable. A rain storm, however would make them impassable, and we must now expect and calculate upon rain, snow and cold weather the greater part of the time. Still I dare say the Army will advance before you get this, for I hear it to-day from really undoubted authority. The Regiment is to-day gone on picket and I stay to write up the Court Martial proceedings. If we do not move our house will be most comfortable winter quarters, and if we do move I am perfectly sure we must soon stop. The weather may be unusually favorable, but 3 days such as those we had would disable 2/3 the Army on a march.

I do not despair of getting my pass by Christmas yet.

Go to the Regiment you know Macy was ordered to take command. Since then we have had Archer is made Major. His resignation for physical disability is however now gone up and I dare say accepted. I do not know how it will turn out. Abbott, Gilden and Curtis are Captains, but their Commissions have not yet come. Curtis a Captain! I should very much like to see a statement of the principle on which promotions are made. I think it would puzzle anybody to state it. I certainly have no reference to date of Commission, length of service or faithfulness to duty in the Regiment. Shepard keeps to his tent, and is reported sick. I have not seen him for several days.

I cannot get over this morning just after one has got a little comfortable. I am all in uncertainty and of course feel very uncomfortable not knowing whether to go on or to stop and pack up. I wish I had the tent.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

P.S. 12th December 3 P.M.

We had a terrible fight yesterday. I am unhurt. Cabel killed Wilkins, Sherard, Mc. Kay and Curtis wounded. We occupy the town. Our Brigade stormed it. Desperate fighting in Streets. Our loss heavy. I was bruised very slightly by a spent ball. We are now in rear. Many troops crossed.

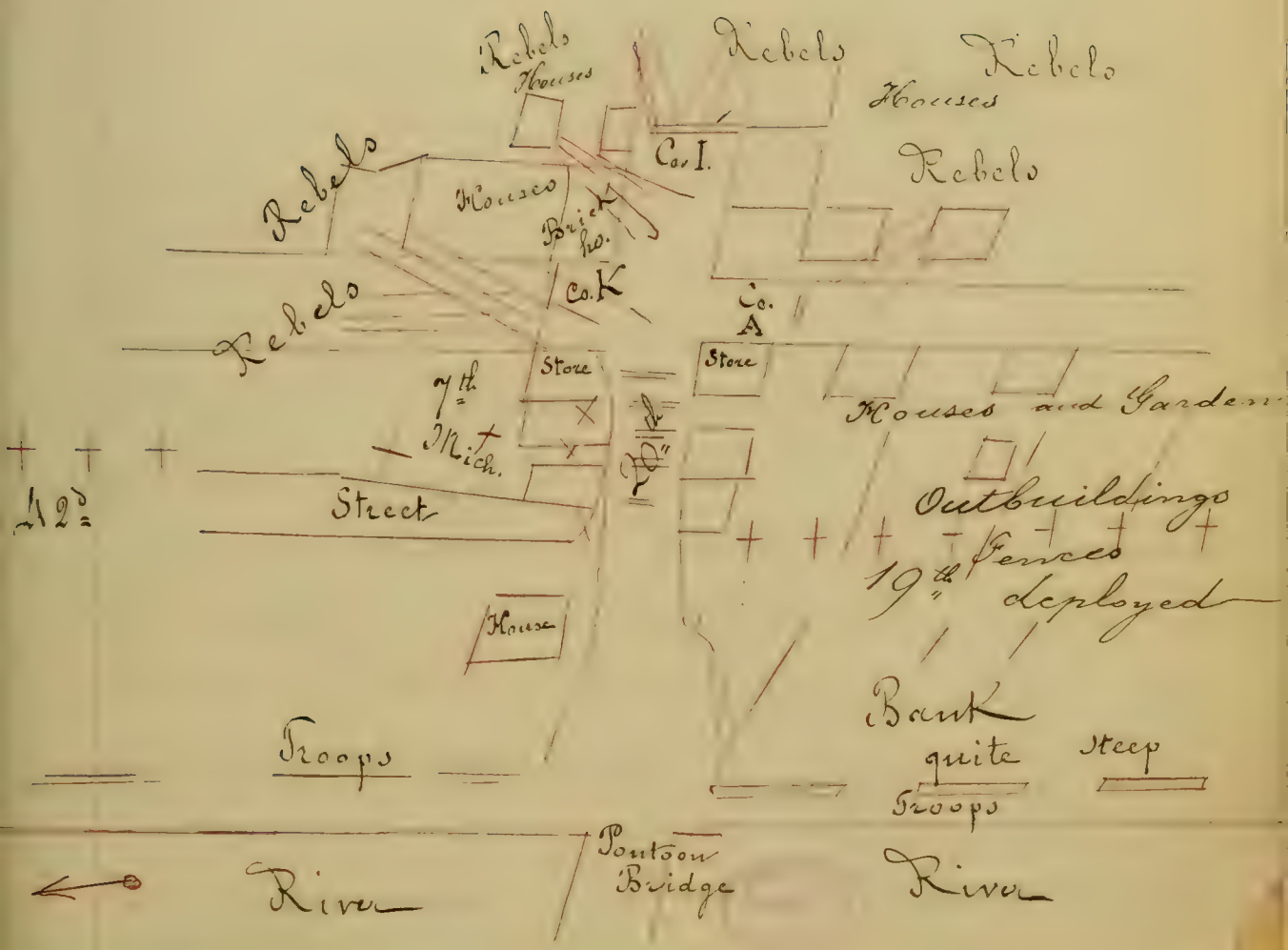
In great haste
Affectionately
Henry.

Camp 20th Regiment near Falmouth
Va. December 18th 1862.

My dear John.

I have determined to write one a Tremendous letter, giving a full account of our late battles and answering your letter about my expenses, the Estates &c. received in Col. Lee. I will first the account of the battles &c. The Regiment went out on picket, on the 10th and I staid in camp to finish my Court Martial proceedings. I heard of our expected move, but did not in the least anticipate what was to come. The Regiment came in from picket at 1 P.M. on the 11th and we were ordered to march at 5. About that time the firing began at the river, and at 6 P.M. we marched down to a point about opposite the Northern part of the city. It was still very dark, the hills on the river was filled with smoke from our batteries along the bank, and the noise was tremendous. We staid on our open plain which was filled with troops. The Brigade was to cross first, the 7th leading as Skirmishers. They put the pontoon bridge half over and then the Rebels in the houses and from the cellars which they had runs into Rifle pits poured in such a hot fire as to drive our men off. The river here is about as wide as Amberton Downs is long and the banks high and especially steep on our side. The 19th Michigan and the 10th were deployed as Skirmishers along the banks to protect the laborers on the bridge, but they could not do so,

for the smoke and fog were very thick. The weather this day and for the 3 following days was mild. Occasionally the Rebels would throw over a few shells to where we were, but not much damage was done. After a little time the guns were directed to the City to clean out the Rebel sharpshooters, and the bombardment lasted steadily till about 4 P.M. The City was now on fire in 3 places, and this smoke added to the darkness through which our guns were vainly — flashed. We were close to the batteries. The sound was tremendous. We had now lain all day here and still nothing was done. Several of the Officers were lounging on a pile of boards, I was rather tired and almost asleep when Col. Croll rode up and said the 20th Michigan had volunteered to cross in pontoon boats. This was indeed a desperate thing, but in a few minutes some one said they were crossing, we heard a sharp firing and some cheers, and then that they were across and had occupied the nearest houses. We were ordered to fall in at the same time, and in a few moments marched down the bank and followed the 10th across in pontoon boats. The 10th no sooner had we reached, at the foot of the bank, reformed. Some of the 20th Michigan wounded were being brought back, among them the Lieut. Colonel shot in the shoulder. The Michigan men made a rush at the nearest houses and took quite a number of prisoners. The orders to the whole Brigade were to shoot every armed man found firing from a house; this being, I believe, contrary to the rules of war, but it was not of course


Rebels
Houses
Rebels
Rebels
Houses
Co. I.
Rebels
Rebels
Houses
Brick ho.
Co. K
Co. A
Rebels
Store
Store
Houses and Gardens
7th Mich.
Outbuildings
Fences
12th Street
19th deployed
House
Bank
quite
steep
Troops
Troops
Pontoon Bridge
River
River

crossed. I in fact no prisoners were taken but the four other Michigan took, and the wounded who had been shot by our pickets. The 9th Michigan were deployed on the left and a short distance up the street at the foot of which we landed, and the 10th on the right, both holding houses, fences &c. and exchanging shots with the Rebels who were a little farther back. The pontoon bridge was hurriedly finished, and the Rebels then opened on it with shell, doing little damage, but somewhat disturbing the troops crossing. When a good many troops had got over, we were advanced up the street in column of companies right in front and Macy was ordered to "follow the Skirmishers", that is the 9th Michigan, and advance into the town, at the same time the 10th on the right — and the 42d which had been deployed on the extreme left were ordered to advance also. I can explain our position best by a plan.

The 20th advanced up the street, and when the head of the column got to where the 9th Michigan men were, on the left, in a kind of alley way, and occupying a house, Macy called to them to go ahead. Capt. Mann their commanding Officer was there and he hesitated and refused. Macy was obliged to halt and urge him to go forward. Capt. Mann still refused, saying he had no orders and Macy, much irritated told him his orders, which were very plain, to go forward and follow the 9th. Cicero came from the rear to prefer charges, Mann still hung back, saying the Rebels were there in force, and no man could live round that corner", or some such words. Macy was of course

terribly angry, and turned off crying: "Go to hell with your Regiment then," or something like that, and gave the order to advance. All this occupied but 2 or 3 minutes, yet it was very troublesome, as the rear was pressing on. My Company was close to Abbott's, and we entered upon the main street within a moment of each other. That instant a tremendous and deadly fire swept down from the front and left. The Rebels occupied the houses and were behind fences, and could not be seen except by the flash of the guns. It staggered the Column, but in a moment then pressed on, led by Abbott in his usual fearless manner. At the same time my Company was ordered to left wheel, and Capt. Shepard gave the first word, and the Company swung round right across the worst line of fire. Capt. Shepard rolled over, hit in the foot, and shouted to me to take command. 1st Sergeant Campion fell, and 2 or 3 more, and before I could get to my place, they had fallen into a momentary confusion, and it was with no little difficulty I could bring them into line and open fire down the street. The Rebels evidently took good aim. Almost every ball struck, and a very large proportion were killed outright or desperately wounded. The 3d Company had wheeled to the right but had found the fire coming from the rear and left (to them) and had soon entered the houses on the left and fired to the front. The men were killed and wounded so fast that the rest of the Regiment was immediately called up and supported the Companies first in position. In this way Companies D, E, and

Came up and filled that part of the street my Company could not come. The central place was heaped with bodies, and although night was coming in, the Rebels were not ahead, but still fired, and we got into a small house on the left of Company I, from which Abbott bravely tried to dislodge them. In exchange a house on his left. Our guns were getting clogged, our fire slack, and Macy sent back urgent requests for help, and for the Regiments on our right and left to advance, and altogether to clear the Rebels out. The 33d New-York were sent up to relieve us, but as soon as they got under fire, gave way, and ran back, and were only rallied by the efforts of our Officers, and their own Lieut. Colonel who seemed the only decent man they had. Just before they came up, I was struck by a spent ball in the upper part of the arm, a very severe blow which cut completely through my trowsers. I fell backwards, and was assisted by a soldier. My leg was completely paralyzed, and I almost lost my consciousness, and felt sure I was shot through. I left the Company to cooperate! Clark and limped to the rear, suffering considerable pain. Just round the corner I leaned against a fence, and now felt better and found I could move my leg. Just then the 33d gave way and came running back, and I made an effort to stop them, and after a few minutes they were rallied and I then found I could stand, and got back immediately to my Company which was still as I left it. My leg was pretty stiff for 3 days but is now perfectly well. It was now getting dark, my Company had

dwindled down to about 8 men and the rifles were so foul they could hardly be loaded. We had fired about 30 rounds. Macy had sent up other Companies and the left of the street was left open, the men who were left firing from the right pretty sheltered by the brick building. The 50th had been got up and were ordered to relieve us, and my few men were allowed to go to the rear with Company D under Perkins. I did not mention that Capt. Dreher had been ordered to support me with his Company and had come up, but he almost immediately withdrew his Company and they fell entirely back. The color-bearer, however, was shot. Abbott had suffered terribly and the 50th were sent to relieve him, and as it was now dark and the firing less deadly, they stood about the corners and kept firing while our Companies were drawn a little back, but only to the head of the street where were two stores. In a few moments, however, they all came running back in terrible confusion and were only stopped by Abbott, Merbot and myself who placed ourselves across the street and fairly forced them to halt. They could not be brought up and so (as we had received orders) we got back our men to the houses and stores at the head of the street and the firing gradually dropped off. We got in our wounded and helped them to the rear as well as we could. Just as the 50th gave way the last time, I went forward to where two men were carrying back a wounded Captain of the 50th and helped him off. His blood was pouring out in a stream which

I could hear, but not see. He was mortally wounded and was I have their best Officer. Lieut. McKay was shot just by me at short distance behind Company I near the corner, just before we fell back for the night. He was one of our very best Officers. We occupied those houses all night. The enemy fell back, and there was no more firing. On the whole it was about as trying a fight as could well be. Willett says it was far worse than Bull's Bluff.

December 20th.

Dear Edith.

I was obliged to leave off the other day and have been so busy with necessary Company matters since we have been unable to write till now. I heard yesterday of Major Willard's death, and I sympathize & feel it most deeply. I saw him for the first time since Roanoke the day before his death. How dreadful for his wife! We suppose it has been with 13000 men if the wretched Government at Washington is now convinced that it takes a General to fight a battle. The state of feeling against the Radicals at Washington is tremendous, and they well deserve it. Thirteen thousand men needlessly butchered & entirely through their ignorance! We who are out here feel this. It is very easy to cry "forward" at Washington. There is but one thing now that can restore the Army, or rather

prevent a total demoralization that is the restoration of McClellan with full, unrestrained power, and the utter overthrow of Halleck and Stanton. That and that only can give us an army that can fight, and whether war or peace is to follow that is the most important thing now. It is all humbug to say that the troops fought well, they never fought worse nor ran so soon. The Pennsylvania troops and the ... Regiments behaved miserably. There was no head, no definite attacks, a mere slaughter. We were 4 hours without any support. I never saw so many men streaming to the rear in total confusion, clothing, but the old Regular troops saved us from rout, and they did so at fearful cost. I hear every General, including old Sumner, opposed the assault. When Sumner wants to hold back, others had better not venture. I can see by the lists that Sumner's old Corps, the 2d lost 2 or 3 times as many as any other. The papers give generally poor accounts. McLaws's Division was held in reserve, except our Brigade which assaulted the work without support. I left off at the end of the fight of the 11th. On the 12th there was no battle, troops constantly crossed the bridges, greatly harassed by the Rebel shells. We were in the streets and houses all day. Fredericksburg is a fine city. It was evidently hastily evacuated, houses left with everything just as it occupied. As the City was defended against us, of course it was given up to pillage. Everything was ransacked, Clothes, Furniture, Pictures Silver, plate and China were scattered about everywhere. There was an abundance of flour, meat,

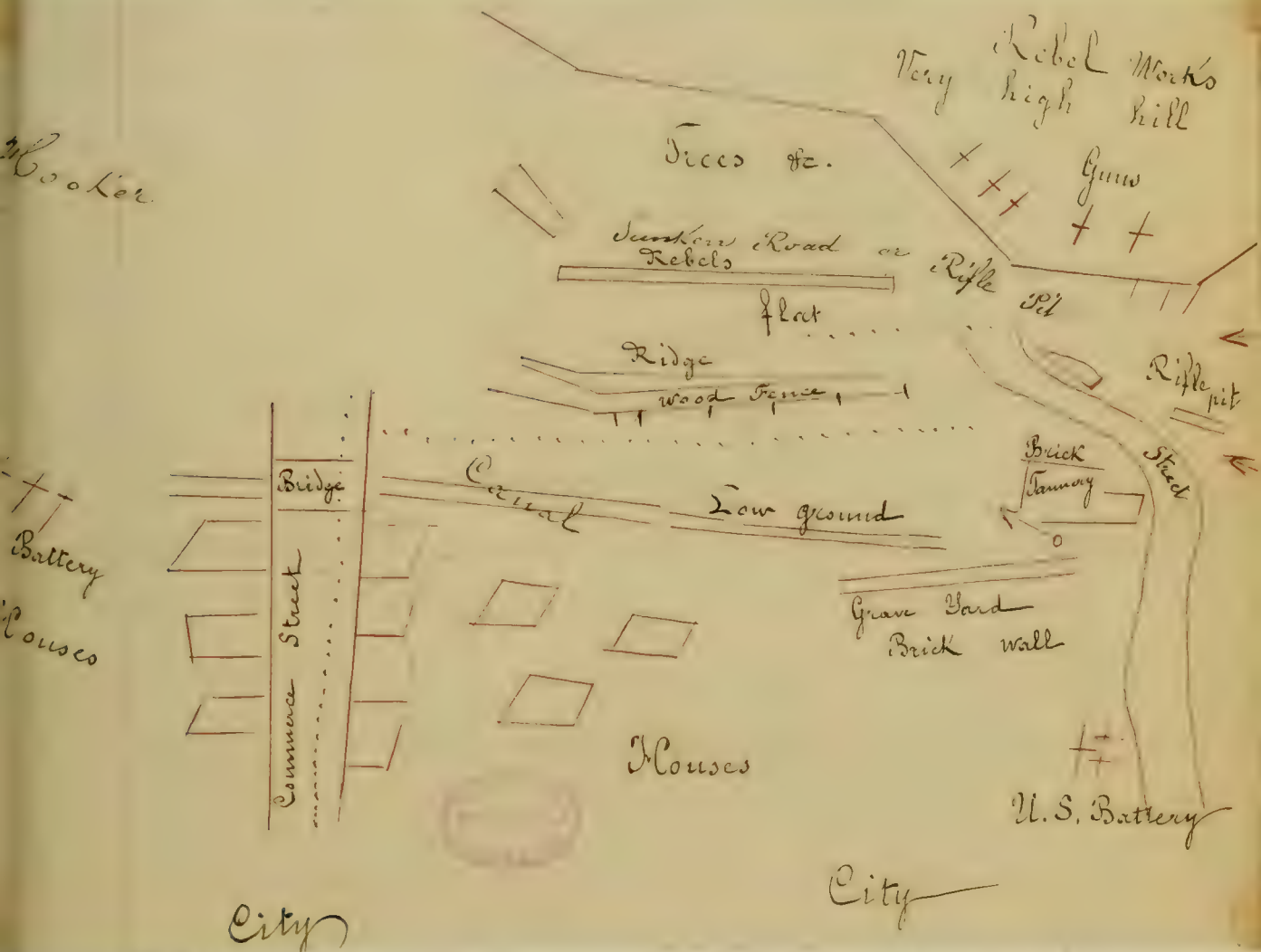
Salt, poultry &c., wine, pickles, preserves, sauces &c. were brought out and eaten. One would see a Mahogany table brought out with 2 or 3 velvet-covered chairs, and soldiers eating off them with silver or fine china ware. Articles of female dress was scattered about; soldiers decked their guns with silk dresses and lace veils. Many rifles were stolen and watches, jewelry and gold found. Several packages of Gold coin were found. Almost every house was riddled with Cannon shot. In one was found the body of a young Lady shot in the breast by a shell. A few inhabitants remained in the cellars, principally in the South part of the town, and were unmolested. I saw very little property wantonly destroyed that is such things as pictures &c. which could be of no use to the men. Many pianos were in the houses, and the men got up concerts and dances and played all day. All this time we were under fire whenever the Rebels chose to throw shell at us, which they did whenever they saw a party together. We kept behind and in the houses, It was like what one reads about to see this sacked city. The men took what they pleased, but of course could not carry much except small articles. Books were carried out by the Armful, read a few minutes and thrown down. One would see splendid Copies of Byron or Milton or Scott, Ki=ng about in the mud.

While we were waiting in the streets about noon, Macon came up to me and said: "There is some one you would like to see, Rowe." I turned round and saw Major Willard, looking the same as ever.

I need not say, how glad I was to see him. We had a very pleasant talk for some minutes. He took me aside and showed me the portrait of his wife, which he took from his breast. He spoke of her a moment and then we walked back. Soon he said he ought to go back to his Regiment which was quite near, and I started to walk along with him. There had been no firing for some time, but just as we turned a corner a shell came, and bursting in the house where we were passing, scattered the bricks and dust almost over us. I said we might fall in it then was to be an attack, and therefore bade him good bye, to return to the Regiment. We shook hands most cordially, and parted with best wishes for each other's safety. I returned across a small rear garden, being the shortest way, and had hardly left him when another shell burst very close to me, within a few feet, the pieces striking all round, many not 10 inches from me. I never was so nearly hit before, and I think few people have had so narrow an escape as that was. After a short time the Rebels ceased firing. The next day we were kept back till about 12 O'clock, although there was very heavy firing, especially of musketry, and we knew that a battle was going on. Then we fell in and marched to the front to the outskirts of the town, crossing a small canal on a bridge. Here we came under fire of the Rebel Artillery, in direct range. The streets were filled with dead and wounded. A shell burst in my Company and knocked over 2 men, mortally wounding one. Two more shells

from that time but do not think they were wounded. Our Brigade was marching by the left flank, and the 20th the right Regiment last.

I will give you a plan.




The dotted line represents our march. We were under a tremendous Artillery fire when near the bridge, and here my Company lost. Marching by the left flank we formed on the left by files into line, our Regiment getting last up and forming the extreme right of the Brigade. The order for the Brigade to advance was given before we got up. The 10th had

already gotup the slope enough to get under fire from the Rebels in the pits and as the formed were driven back in confusion behind the ridge and fence where we formed. I understand that none of the Generals who ordered the charge knew how great was the Rebel force nor anything to get about it. Col. Kalk commanding Brigade saw what a desperate undertaking it was and protested in the most earnest and solemn manner, but received positive orders to assault, or rather to advance. Just as we formed, the orde to advance were given. None knew against what we were going, we only saw the Rebel works towering high above us and all the Shot and Shell and musketry almost shake the ground. As we riot up the slope, the fire was indeed awful. No man could stand up against it. Only the 10th and 20th advanced at all. The 10th gave way in disorder. We had got 1/2 way to the pits, the men began to fire and could not be got to advance, and only by the desperate efforts of the Officers could they be made to stand and close up the fearful gaps which were made in the line. Part of Company I was deployed on the right and behind the brick house there, and were not exposed to this fire much. The ridge was completely swept by every gun and musket which could be brought to bear. At last an order came to retire. Macy ordered the Regiment to fall back to the fences. The men fell back hastily, eager to get under the cover of the bank, and the instant the retreat began the enemy suddenly opened a fire which I cannot describe. So tremendous was the storm of bullets. They must have had a second line in reserve, the ground was torn up,

and it was like the drops of a heavy shower striking the ground all around us. I distinctly felt the balls strike me and hear and Knapsack. A ball passed over each shoulder, one just touching my whiskers and cutting my knapsack on either side. We rallied at the fence and expecting an instant attack of the enemy, fixed bayonets and determined to hold the line and ditch. The men lay down and we advanced a few who lay flat close to the top of the ridge. Those deployed on the right kept the Rebel rifle pits busy on the right. A battery was now sent to the road in rear of our right, and this was the first support we had had. The Rebels still raked us at long range from guns which came from the direction of the arrows (→) I have made, one striking the corner of the brick house. This house was a Tannery. All this time we were under a heavy shell fire from the advanced redoubt, but now our battery near the bridge played so accurately as to silence and almost dismount the gun. They, however, got up another. This gun was so near we could distinctly see them load and fire. I should think it was no more no from the State house to Charles street. At about 3 O'clock Sykes's Division came to our support, and advanced beyond the fence, just under the brow of the ridge, leaving us in the 2d line. A part also were placed behind the brick Tannery. Not long after a very large Brigade, I heard it was Sykes's Brigade of Pennsylvania troops, came up from the road, and formed behind us, filling up the field. I heard them were to assault the same place. The Rebels opened fire on them and killed and wound-

ed a cheer was soon the whole Brigade broke and ran in total con-
-fusion, the Rebels playing into them all the time. They were finally got
off somewhere in the town and we did not see them again. It was now
perhaps 5 P.M. and still the fire of musketry raged on our left swell-
-ing and then dying away, and the Artillery continued without interruption.
The attack had evidently failed, the bridge and road were covered by
a constant stream of fugitives, and the plain in front of us heaped with
our own dead and wounded. The cries of the latter for aid were dreadful,
but they could not be got at, for the enemy shot at every one who appeared.
Every brave fellow, Dugan, of Company F crawled out and brought
in Alley's sword, although he was shot at and narrowly escaped. If
dark night came on and we put our vedettes, lying down, just on the crest
of the hill. The Rebels did the same. We could hear them talk and
snore. Having got the range they fired in shell about every 5 minutes
till perhaps 10 P.M. and then all was still. It was pitch dark. We
got Alley's body and sent it in, and got off most of our wounded, but
some lay so far out we could not get to them and they groaned all night.
About midnight we were relieved by Sykes's Regulars, ~~in perfect silence~~
in perfect silence we were drawn in to the city and lay down in the
streets greatly exhausted. So ended this great slaughter, for not
producing which Mc. Clellan was removed.

You see that on the whole our Brigade has done a great deal,
crossing the first, &c. and that our Regiment has done nobly and

exhibited the first quality of a good Regiment, perfect steadiness.
The day after the battle Genl. McCowan rode up to the Regiment—
called for Capt. Macy, and said: "Capt. Macy, I have come to thank
you and your Regiment for your noble conduct in the late battles.
You have done nobly. The Regiment has done nobly. Massachusetts
men always do nobly! Be assured not a life shall be uselessly sacrificed.
To-day you are in reserve of 2 corps, and will not be called upon but
in the last extremity. I'll ask for now is Constancy, constancy,
and that is enough to say to a Massachusetts man." These are as
nearly the words as I can recollect. Genl. McCowan then rode off
amid tremendous cheers and half a dozen shells which the Rebels immed-
iately pitched in by way of being on the safe side.

Now, you know, I have told you not ever to publish my letters,
but now I want you to do this: Make up a short piece giving an
account of this event, and stating that Macy led the Regiment
in the noblest manner. Macy did <u>splendidly!</u> So we all say, and
we know it ought to be known, and we take the onus to tell it. Macy's
good judgment, bravery and perfect steadfastness deserve the very
highest praise. I want you to write a short article for the Advertiser,
just stating how Macy led and what Genl. McCowan said. Do not of
course use my name, or make any allusion to me, but let it be
known for his deeds. After Genl. McCowan's speech we were taken
to the rear near the river and out of the fire of shell, and staid there all day.

Col. Lee [illegible] to him, & [illegible] sick [illegible] perfectly unable to endure the [illegible] of a soldier's life. I received from him a package of [illegible] Five Dollars and several letters. I thank you for the shoulder straps, and for your congratulations on my promotion. The next day (Monday) was [illegible] not many shell thrown. They began to remove the wounded and we heard we were to be withdrawn and then that we were to throw up earth works and hold the place. About midnight we marched quietly across the pontoon bridge and found the two armies were in silence. It was dark and cloudy. We marched straight back to our old Camp, and I found our hut in a good state of preservation and 2 sick men of the Company there. They got me something to eat and I then turned in and slept. It rained hard till about noon of the next day and has been fine and cold since. I am now well housed and look forward to winter quarters here. The day after we got to Camp Lee. Howard made a speech to each Regiment of the Brigade drawn up to receive him. He complimented us in the very highest terms, and said the 20th Mass. would be also to your heart. He spoke well of the 10th but blamed the 12th because they were driven in from picket on the place where we fought the next day, and he blamed the 120th Pennsylvania, a new Regiment, because they ran away in battle. He praised the Michigan 7th for its gallant conduct in crossing in boats first. On the whole the 20th is on the very highest roll.

I believe I have now given you a correct though rapid account

of the battles, and will now answer your letter. First, my account. I was indeed surprised to see the sum total $030.-, but I have no doubt it is correct. If it is not too much trouble please send me a list of the articles and the charges. You acknowledge the receipt of $400.- and you have before acknowledged, I think, some $10.- from C. B. Porter which I think was from sale of some of my private property at Cambridge. So, I still am $130.- in debt. Government will in 10 days owe me about $070.- of which I can & do hope $300. leaving a balance on hand of $170.- In all probabilities, however, we shall be paid for 4 months only, now, i.e. $400.- or so. In that case I shall send home $200., more than enough to make me square. I feel that I have ordered nothing I did not need; and with all my expense, I have no doubt I am much more comfortable than a day laborer at home; and I suppose the increased cost of everything on account of the taxes has raised prices. When for 9 tenths of the time a man has to endure a great deal of hardship, he ought to live well the other one tenth, and if he does not, he will suffer for it. I think perhaps you have spent rather more than necessary for my things not supposing economy was necessary with me. However, I shall need no more clothes this winter, and in the Spring when cash comes, I should be well off. My income is raised $120.- per annum by my promotion and the same in addition, so long as I remain in command of the Company. So, knowing I can eventually discharge all obligations, I shall run on Father's kindness

to the extent of advances to pay for whatever [illegible] (which cannot remain charged till I send the money).

I find that Mrs. Buckminster's expenses in coming and were $22.50, and that Mr. Edison besides brought $11.50 to me, in all $34.-

I enclose the mess account which you sent me before.

Mr. Cleban went to Boston yesterday with Lieut. Perkins and Mr. He went at his own urgent request and at his own expense in going and returning, to see about the money and effects of his sister who had died. I allowed him to go, and got a man in his place and advanced him $15.- which I borrowed from Quartermaster Folsom, giving him a note for the amount on me which he will send to his brother and which you will please honor and charge to me. James promises me to bring back for me as much as he can carry. Please send by him a strong pocket knife. Capt. Cabot lost the one he brought on for me. Also the small things sent by Col. Lee which he did not have here to give me and which I suppose he will take home. Please also send the following things as much as he can take. 2 boxes yeast powder, 2 cans preserved peaches, and 2 cans Strawberries from Davis & Co. or some equally good place (that is cheapest and best I think). 2 cans roast turkey. 2 cans green peas, 1 bottle Worcestershire (or Club) sauce from same place; 2 bottles brandy, 3 lbs. Raisins, 1 doz Lemons, some Apples or pears, if convenient. Also please give him $5.- to buy for me in Washington or Fredericksburg some ducks or chickens, if he can carry them.

It is hard to get anything except groceries. Do not burden him with unnecessary things. Please ask Father to give him a small pot of the nice Cranberry sauce. He can carry some small things for Lucretia Crosby Putnam, Richard and Abbott, but besides this, I think he owes me all the rest of his transporting power. I want him principally to carry food, i.e. something better than beef and bread, which we have here. I send by him my watch to be repaired. It keeps miserable time and constantly stops. I send a cup from Fredericksburg as a change of what was kicking about the streets. Please give it to Mary Ann. I send enclosed for you an address delivered at some Church there. One of my men found several in a house there. Also a little drawing of a tomb. Please give it to Louisa. It is of no particular value but as a relic.

I expected to contribute to the usual Christmas presents, but the alarming state of my finances stares me in the face. Perhaps, however, as I get paid I will send home enough and wish you and Mary Ann and Louisa each to have a present from me, say $3. each; and I wish also to have a share in Father & Mother's presents. I should be very glad if you could arrange this so that I need not be left out of the list of donors. Perhaps I shall be paid in time yet.

I believe I have finished this tremendous letter. I expect to be back in a week or so. I wish I could pass Christmas with you. I shall remember you all, and think of last Christmas and hope for the next.

9

also sent by Prince a flask and note for Mrs Lee. It is part of the Colonel's property. Reading this over I have not given our loss. The 20th went into action the 1st day with about 320 men and 15 Officers including Colonel commanding and the Adjutant. Their loss altogether in both days 158 men killed and wounded, a very large proportion killed and badly wounded, and the following Officers:

1st day 11th

Killed: Capt. Labat.

Wounded: Shepard foot
Lieut. Wilkins Arm - bad
" Mc. Kay Shoulder
" Curtis Slightly

2d day 13th

Killed: Lieut. Alley

Wounded: Capt. Dreher
Lieut. Beckwith very badly

My Company, K., crossed the river with 23 guns and 2 Officers, and returned with 9 guns and one Officer.

I lost first day 1 Officer wounded

Killed: 2 Privates: Connelly and Cowan

Wounded: 1st Sergeant Campion; right Arm amputated
4 Privates: Blake, Dillon and Morrison, Legs amputated
and Gunn in foot slightly.

2nd Day

Killed: Private Hastings

Wounded: Corporals Crowell and Blankenburg, both mortally, and since dead

Flannigan leg

Missing:

Privates Kanon, Wentworth, and Cotter - the last may be wounded.

Total both sights: 1 Officer wounded

Enlisted men.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Killed: | 5 | including mortally wounded |
| Wounded: | 6 | |
| Missing | 3 | |
| | 14 | |
| Returned | 9 | and 1 Officer |
| Went over | 23 | and 2 Officers. |

This statement will show you what kind of a fight it was. Write soon and tell me how you feel.

Best love to Mother, Father and all from

Your affectionate brother

Henry.

December 10th 1862.

Dear John.

I send James who embraces this opportunity of getting home; about some money matters of his own. I have no time to write much; am writing a long letter to you. I send by him several books, your pipe and a cup. taken from Fredericksburg, which please give to Mary Ann from me. I will write what to send him back with.

All well.

In great haste

Your affectionate brother

Henry.

James takes my sword and some private letters.

Licamba 20th 1862.

Dear John.

In my long letter to you which I finished to-day I entirely forgot to tell you what I think of your plan of the sale of the Estates. I entirely approve of it. It would be indeed very unpleasant to be left with such a little income as $3500.* I think it would be wrong for us to wish to deprive Mother of the comforts of a liberal income for the sake of a possibly future advantage which we children certainly would be the only ones to enjoy. Still we must remember that this state of things was brought about principally by Father, and I do not think we or Mother should be made to suffer, on account of his bad management, more than is absolutely necessary. I should be in favor of selling and discharging every kind legal obligation, but hardly like your quick and perhaps too liberal way of paying all obligations we did not incur. In the whole question, will and all should be brought to a settlement on perfectly just principles, then of course meet halfway and allow for every claim, but since we are to suffer by an exceedingly forced and unjust representation of our property and Claims, I see no reason why we should give up any claim not legal, or waive any legal right. At all events I leave it in your hands to act for me. I am decidedly in favor of selling and putting beyond question the certainty of a decent income. Please

let me know what Father thinks of my expenses &c., and how money and business are. I intend to live strictly within my own income, but even if I should draw, to some small extent, on Father, I really think it would not be improper, considering how little expense I am to him compared with the rest and how much I am endowing and how much greater the chances of my death are. Tell me plainly how it is, and whether I had really better not draw at all beyond my remittances.

Please let me know what packages are now on the way to me by Express or otherwise, so far as you know. Please send a little post paper.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

20th Regiment
December 24th 1862.

Dear Sir.

I not received yours of the 10th. Major Willard's death is indeed a great blow to us all. But I think not here, though we feel it as keenly, it makes less outward impression, and we go on and laugh and talk just as ever. If ever I get back home I shall then miss my friends more than now. War does not harden one permanently, but makes one less to be influenced for the time by the misfortunes of others and the death of friends. An evil which at home would completely upset a man, does not do so here. I shall never forget my last interview with him.

Ho to the Christmas box. I dare say I can be in some things, and if he can only get them as far as Acquia Creek, I can probably send for them from there. It is shameful, after all we have been through, not to allow us to get such little luxuries as we can from home. Officers, especially, should have the privilege, instead of being obliged to pay exorbitant prices here. I believe I have given you a full account of the battle in my long letter. I cannot let all rests with you as to Mc. Clellan, or as to the policy of the present movement. I know (from Col. Hall, privately) that Mc. Clellan's plans were ripe when he was removed. By his apparent delay in the

valley he obliged the enemy to keep a large force under Jackson at or near Winchester. At Warrenton Junction heavy reinforcements met the Army, and Mc. Clellan had calculated on this and intended having so it was passed Jackson to fall immediately on Lee at Culpepper and overwhelm him by his immensely superior force, then turn on Jackson and then on Richmond. We never before had succeeded in getting our entire Army between the divided Rebel Army, and never was a plan more certain of success. Just at the moment of completion Mc. Clellan is removed. I have no words strong enough to condemn the President, the Government, and the whole Abolition or radical party. Every day increases my confidence in Mc. Clellan, and think him the noblest patriot and the best General the country has had since Washington. He is the only man who can now restore this Army. All the newspaper talk about our still being anxious for a fight is miserable falsehood, and the Government and the Country had better not deceive themselves with it. Do not think I am faint hearted, for I am not. The Army will fight always, whenever ordered, as long as the Officers are alive, but the Army, as an Army, is a thing of the past. They can fight a defensive battle, if attacked, and do well, that is all. It seems to me that we are very near the end, and that a very unpromising one. I can only wait and see. Peace would be hailed with joy on almost any terms by the country, and the Army feeling a consciousness that it has done its

only, does not care. I still hope, but it is a hope founded on nothing. If I see Halleck superseded by Mc. Clellan, I shall have confidence; not till then.

Mr. Boudwin has just arrived, with Charles Whittier, and Genl. Sedgwick. Sedgwick is to have our Corps. Mr. Boudwin has gone up to Brigade Headquarters now, rather to dine. I shall do everything I can to make his stay agreeable. His baggage has not yet come. Abbott, Macy, Murphy and all desire regards.

You may meet Capt. Shepard possibly. Do not be anxious to show him any attention on my account. I believe I wrote to you that he had treated me unhandsomely in a Company matter, and that we were no more of friends than necessary. I have lost about all the very little respect I ever had for him.

I am again out of stamps, and must ask for some. I have quantities of letters now to send Killed and wounded men to write. One of my missing men has turned up slightly hurt. That makes me 41 wounded and 5 Killed, out of 23 and 2 missing. Do not let James stay too long at home, and do not let him be burdened so as to risk losing all. We cannot of course carry loads for others.

With affection.

Your affectionate brother

Mary.

Enclosed letter for Mary Ann.

Camp 20th Regiment
December 30th 1862.

My dear John.

Yours of the 26th just received. Mr. Bordwin is still here with me. I like him very much and he is a great favorite with everyone. He has seen a great deal of the Army and the Generals. I am deeply grieved by what Mr. Bordwin tells me of your Exhibition of Mc. Clellan feeling. Every day I think more of that man. I am now by recent revelations, perfectly convinced that he has twice been on the point of utterly destroying the military power of the Rebellion, and that his plans had been interfered with by Government. Look at the testimony in the Mc. Dowell case, it is overwhelming. Burnside has proved himself a weak man and a miserable General. In Mc. Clellan the Army has confidence, and certainly the judgment of an Army like ours ought to be of weight. When he has held his peace although he had only to come out openly and raise a tremendous opposition to the Government. He is a noble patriot, indeed. As to the demoralization of the Army, I am perfectly willing to leave my statement to be proved by events. Mc. Clellan alone can restore the Army. We hear it is to be consolidated. The Government altogether appears to me weak and inefficient. I can only hope for better things. As to the Regiment here, however, we are in good spirits as ever; in fact I consider it a duty to keep in good spirits,

but my judgment remains the same and my opinion as to the state of the Army. We are going to move, where? I cannot tell as yet. I hear that we are to exchange places with McIntzelman's Corps at Alexandria, and that our Corps is reported unfit for service. Also that we are going to Suffolk. I do not know what to believe, but I feel sure we shall march in a day or two. Rations are issued and marching orders have come. If Richmond is ever taken we must return to Mc. Clellan's old base, the James river. The greatest blunder of the war was Mc. Clellan's removal from Harrison's Landing. The troops that have since been uselessly slaughtered would have enabled him to take the city and end the war.

I am very glad to get the shirt handkerchiefs, towels, soap &c. sent by Abbott and Boutwell. Tell Mother the shirt is just the right size. My old ones have become much too small. I want new drawers ribbed wool and socks, both which I wrote to Mother can be sent by mail. There are plenty of mine at home. Please send two drawers made by mail, and don't forget post paper. I may not write till we get settled down again. James received $15.- from me when he started, and he had $130 in the Bank at Boston, so there was no need of Father's advancing him the $20.. I made a special agreement with James that I should not be at any expense for his trip to Boston and back. I have to supply his place while he is gone, and for this he agrees to bring me as much as he can carry for me. I am to pay him his regular

wages without deduction for the time he is absent. Do not let him get the whole amount due him, else he might not return. Do not let him come on Board with a great bag of clothes for himself. I am glad you think I do right in drawing on Father and in my way of living here. I have no doubt you have done for me exceedingly well as to my expenses &c. I hear from Abbott of the tremendous rise in prices for clothing &c.

I am sorry not to be able to contribute to the Christmas gifts, but shall not forget you all when I am paid. Tell Mary Ann to write me most fully all about Christmas &c. What do people at home think of the battles? They appear to be thirsting for more blood. You may as well make up your mind that you must wait till spring for new Clothes. The old Regiments must either be recruited or consolidated. You have no idea what explosions among the 20th has been here.

I am very glad you have determined to sell the Mansion Street Estates, and hope you will do well. Mother's comfort is the first thing of course, and anything which would annoy her should be avoided, even at some cost. Thank Louisa for her letter. I shall answer soon. I shall await anxiously your letter on the war, the battles &c.

Your affectionate brother

Henry.

January 3d 1863
Camp 20th Falmouth.

Dear John.

We have not marched and I hope the orders are countermanded. Weather now cold and clear. Sandusio still here. He has received a letter from you. I am getting somewhat anxious about Bruce. He has not yet come. I hope you have not entrusted him with too much money, nor advanced him much. He ought not to have asked any from Father. I hope you saw to it that he was supplied with some sort of pass or order by which he could get from Washington to the camp. Capt. Putnam or Lieut. Riddle would probably have given transportation for him. I sent him a pass here and sent it to him at Washington, if I knew how to find him.

Write and tell me if he has started on and how he expected to get here. No News. All well.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

P.S. Send any boxes for us on to Washington by Express. I have not a way of getting them from Washington here.

H. C.

20th

January 5th 1863.

Dear John.

I have just seen the Advertiser of Friday and the 20th article. I am vexed that there should be 2 errors and cannot think how they got in. 1st it says Macy commanded because of absence of Colonel, Lieut. Colonel and Major Dreher. Dreher had not then heard of his promotion and, besides, Macy was placed in command by order of Genl. Howard, over the heads of Captains Dreher and Shepard, his superior Officers, on account of their incompetency. Dreher was in the fight with his Company, on my left across the street, and withdrew without orders behind the shelter of a house. Then, in repeating Howard's words it should be "in reserve of two Corps" i.e. the 2d and 12th Couch's and Wilcox's, not of the 2d Corps. Neither of these may be of much importance, but I should be sorry to think I wrote so inaccurately. On the whole the fellows are greatly pleased with the piece. What do you think of the letter to Col. Lee? Holmes wrote it.

I have written to Father what I fear about James. Still I have no particular reason to doubt him. Thank you very much for your selection of the books, blankets, &c. received by Express yesterday. If you could send a barrel of vegetables &c. to viz: 1 bushel Apples,

1 bushl Cabbages (or cauliflower); 2 bushls Turnips, I should be very glad.
Also a few Buckwheat to make Cakes. If the Express is in good running
order and not extravagant in price, I should be pr. glad of a box of
meat say 30 lbs. Mutton and Poultry all freshly Killed. I think
it would keep, and it would be cheaper for me than to buy here.
I am much pleased with land, have not yet pitched it. Please send
a few stamps.

Your affectionate brother
W Henry

Thursday evening January 8th 1863
Camp 20th Me.

My dear John.

I have had no letters from home for 3 days, but the papers have come regularly, and to-day I received by mail the bundle of clothes, viz: 1 pair drawers 1 pair socks, 1 scarf, and in the socks some post paper and envelopes. Please thank Mother for sending them. They are very well to have, but as I received drawers &c. by Express in the sack with the blankets the other day, I did not absolutely need these. However, when I wrote I did need them and had no prospect of getting any by the Express. I found I did not need all the blankets I now had and therefore let Sutton have one of the thick yellow plaid ones lately received. Please write me what they cost as he is to pay me the exact price you paid for one. I am now bountifully supplied with warm clothing of every kind.

I am very anxious in regard to James. I fear he has absconded. He ought to have been back long ago. I am sorry to lose the valise Father wrote about, and hope nothing else was entrusted to him. But, perhaps he never came to you, and so never started to come on with my things. I feel very sorry he got Twenty Dollars from Father. He protested to me in the most solemn manner that he would certainly return and bring every thing. I hope you gave him a proper pass, in case

he started really. I am very anxious to hear from you about it. Please tell me what packages are now on the way to me. I think of but one. Mother alluded to sending certain articles of Crockery some time ago, and I suppose they are coming in a box. Then there is James' "Atlas," as Father writes, and perhaps a Christmas Number. Do not know exactly what has been sent. Sister Anna speaks of 2 jars Brandy Peaches &c. What are they in?

Boudwin has been at Corps Headquarters enjoying himself very much for 3 days, so I have seen little of him. I got one or 2 old letters from you and from Mary Ann in the boxes by Express. By the way, I observe my new tent is served as the old one was, and I fear the seams will leak. Have not tried it yet. What did it cost?

No change in matters here. All quiet. Weather colder. Have had some rain.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Enclosed letter for Magelton.

Camp 20th January 11th 1863.

My dear John.

I hasten to answer your letter of January 7th inclosing the Key to the valise and the Express order. I see by your slight reference to James and by a like reference in Mary Ann's last letter that I never received a letter written on about January 1st by you, telling me of James' sickness and perhaps many other things I should be very sorry to lose. Your letter (of 6th) does much to relieve us all from extreme anxiety about the new Colonel reported to have been appointed. The appointment of any man whatever from outside would be an insult to the Officers of the Regiment which could not be borne and would lead to the resignation of everyone of the Officers who have made the 20th what it is. We heard the report several days ago, and the indignation was intense, not only among us but at Head Quarters, no high up no Genl Sumner. Genl Howard immediately wrote most earnestly, and advised a manly and emphatic protest to be sent in by us, saying to prefer Col Palfrey was most thankful, and even if his health would not allow him to take it, that he could make half dozen Colonels out of the Officers of the 20th. In case Governor Andrew should appoint a new man and the Officers have taken any action we are assured that such action will be approved at Brigade, Division, Corps and Grand Division Head Quarters.

publicly. With such backers we are safe. The only reason which Governor Andrew could possibly urge against Colton and Macy is their political views. Their ability is too well established to be doubted.

By the way, you sent me a second vol. of Dombey and Son. Please send the 3d before long. The Coffee in the box does not seem to be like that we used to have at home: it is of a very light color and has an herby flavor, and cannot possibly be made strong. I think it must be Mocha (?) not Java. Please when you send next, put in a little of the old black Kind. The tea is most excellent. Etc. I may not be able to get the valise for some days. please send in an envelope 2 or 3 oz. of yeast powder. I use it constantly and am nearly out. You know by a recent order, you must now prepay the entire postage.

I am very sorry to hear of Col. Lee's illness yet I expected he would be ill after he got home, he seemed so weak when here. I am a little anxious about the coat strapped to the outside of the valise. I am sorry to tell you that Bowditch is quite unwell and thinks of returning down to Boston for proper medical treatment. He is now at Corps Head Quarters in a house. I am going down to see him to-day. In case he returns in say a week and there is no sign of a move, I want you to come over again and spend a month with me. I can get a pass which will bring you from Washington with as much baggage as you like, from my friend Major Mallow, Provost Marshal of the Grand Division. It will do you good and make you up. Perhaps you

can get over with a flag to the city, and at any rate you can see a good deal here and enjoy yourself in the Regiment. I do not consider that little cold at Delivan a visit worthy of the name. You can be very comfortable in my hut, and by the time you will be here, we shall have food enough to satisfy your civilian delicacy. I will let you know when you had better come. When next you send any books, please let me have "Scott's Poetical Works" and some good history of Cromwell or else "Napier's Peninsular War". I want to read upon both of these important eras. I shall be obliged to leave you to pray for my letters until I get some stamps.

Yours &c. M.

I have been to see Bardwin and found him about, but quite lame. He sent some letters to his brothers in London miscarried, by which I believe his funds are not paid as he expected, and I believe he has sent to you for some notes. I remember about 9 months ago Father sent me 2 drafts of $50.- each on Washington, one of which I used and the other I accidentally sent back in a parcel of private letters. It seems to me that a draft of this kind would be very convenient for Bardwin as he could draw the money when he got to Washington. This, I suppose, you could easily send to him in a letter. Everybody here is out of money, owing to the long delay in paying us off. It is really shameful to make the old troops suffer so. Sumner has returned. Col. Kirk's report of the late battles praises our Regiment in the very

highest terms. I will try to get you a copy.

I have not received any letter acknowledging the receipt of the blankets &c. Be sure to tell me instantly if a Colonel is appointed. Could not you telegraph in case Alfred has it? I would call down blessings on your head here.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

P.S. Clo to France he had now been away since 20th December, although he was to return by the 2nd or 3rd January at farthest. I know nothing of his sickness or the cause of it, and so he did not fall sick in my service but in a pleasure trip on his own account, I am not going to keep on paying him wages for time I get no good from, especially as I must pay the Lady I now have for all this time. I am exceedingly sorry Father gave him $20.-. It was by no order of mine. I wanted to keep him a month behind to ensure his speedy return. Be very sure he gets no more money, certainly from me. The agreement was that on my part I was to give him a furlough as it were, of 10 or 12 days and in return he was to bring on a valise or box for me. The expenses of the journey both ways he expected would be defrayed by the money his sister left. Unless he comes back immediately I wish him to understand that I shall stop it from its wages, and if he does not come back at all, that I shall only pay him up to the date of his departure. I do not know anything about his illness as yet.

I never was quite satisfied with him and feel under no obligations, so I should to a faithful and tried servant.

W.C.R.

Camp 20th Mass. Volunteers, near
Falmouth, Va. January 13th 1863.

My dear John.

I have received this morning your letter of the 10th giving your views of the Fredericksburg Campaign, and am very glad indeed to read it and very much obliged to you for giving yourself so much trouble. In my letters to you I almost never sit down to give anything more than a reasonably clear narrative, and rarely draw any but the most hurried deductions. And indeed it is hard for men to reason calmly about what concerns themselves so very nearly. If your property had been placed in the hands of a firm who had shamefully misused it—you would hardly be yourself an impartial critic of their management, much more so if the firm had power to maim or kill you and had so done to others you knew, all by some mistake they never ought to have made. So I feel I must of necessity be a less impartial observer, because the decisions of Generals may & may affect my life and happiness. Still, if I could free myself from these influences, which tend to make me too earnest and to blind my judgment, I should be a remarkably good observer, because I cannot but feel that out here I have had unusual means of information, and have picked up a good deal of practical knowledge of war and the art of fighting battles, just as any man who goes to sea picks up a good deal of

practical seamanship, if he is observing and inquiring. For instance, I saw in a moment, could not help seeing the tremendous result of our second attack on the left of the enemy's position here, and just as much expected defeat as I felt sure of victory at Malvern Hill, where I had a very extensive view of the field.

Now I have just read over your letter with Abbott, and we both agree perfectly as to how to answer your objections and to clear (as we think) McClellan from all blame. I have read many strictures on McClellan's Peninsular Campaign, but I think yours altogether the best and fairest I have seen. You do not attempt too much. Only I might observe if McClellan was fool enough to violate all those fundamental rules you speak of without sufficient reason (as you imply) he could hardly have been the General he has proved himself to be in his Maryland campaign, and indeed on his recent retreat. I have carefully read the Prince's paper and am exceedingly pleased with it, and have made small notes in the margin (wherever I felt perfectly sure I was correct) to explain or alter some statement. I did this for my own advantage at the time, but perhaps I may have noted down small things I have not told you. I will try to send the pencilled to you as we both take so much interest in the matter. For my part I make a point of questioning almost every Officer I meet about the battles and movements we have been through and every day come to a clearer

view of the matter. One thing I observe in every book or article against Mc. Clellan I ever saw—I know facts are stated positively, some of which I know nothing about myself, personally, and these I generally find utterly untrue; and therefore conclude that other important facts stated are untrue. The matter of transports for instance. I know there were just enough.
I know we had to wait days for transports and then were crowded so as to be very unsafe. I know that troops could not have been hurried up to Williamsburg, for Phil Kearny, who was there, told me of the awful state of the roads which I myself saw a few miles back. Now, when I read an account which says that Mc. Clellan wasted time at Washington and Fort Monroe and omitted to hurry up troops (Sumner's Corps) to Williamsburg and such things, I am tempted to disbelieve other equally important statements. It is impossible for me to present more clearly than the Prince does the dreadful consequences of taking Mc. Dowell's Corps from Mc. Clellan just at the critical moment, but work to remind you of it and to press on. One thing I would say, after a General's excellent plans have been thwarted, he cannot begin again and do as well as if he had never been interfered with. Mc's confidence is gone: He must make few plans for the future for he cannot depend upon them. I mean if his plans are to be divided into 2 classes, one certain, the other contingent he must make few of the latter and those not important, and do as well as he can with the certain plans. Supposing

Wellington had received notice a few days before Waterloo that Blücher had been ordered to fall back and protect some large city after he had calculated upon his coming up on Napoleon's right. Do you suppose that he or any man could go to work and arrange the army he had left just as well as if Blücher's army never had existed? This was Mr. McClellan's case. His advance had already crossed Bottom's Bridge before he was sure that Mr. Lowell would not cooperate with him. Now you say he ought to have resigned &c. For himself and his own glory he ought, for the country he ought not (I think). Mr. McClellan never showed his patriotism more than in bearing everything, keeping silence and pushing on the work without complaint, though he knew he could have resigned, published his grievances (thereby exposing the plans of the campaign to the enemy) thrown himself on the country and instantly raised a howl of indignation against the Government and set himself at the head of a most powerful opposition. But this would have paralyzed the army and destroyed every hope of success, and this he would not do. Like a loyal soldier he always obeyed orders and held in his just anger, so long as to let it loose would have worked injury to the cause. Besides, even so late as Fair Oaks it was supposed that our force was greatly superior to the enemy and Mr. McClellan probably expected to be able to beat them in some way as it was. Go to crossing the river, of course it is foolish to

suppose that Gen. Clellan is not known all about the rules of war you refer to, and therefore the question is not "who did he violate the first principles of war?" but, "were his reasons for violating these principles sufficient?" And I reply that they were. But, first let me correct a mistake of yours. There were more than 2 bridges. Summer's, the Railroad bridge, Potts' Bridge, Lane's Bridge and Alexander's and the New Bridge away up on the right. Besides these, I feel sure there were others. At any rate, when the Army got to the river a part must cross on the heels of the flying enemy to preserve the communication. Had we visited this side, as one suggests, the enemy recovering from his first fright, might have so fortified the further bank as to make it impossible, and then we should have been obliged to march round to the North and attack the City on its most defensible side. In spite of any dangers and violations of rules, the river must be crossed and no more men could be thrown over than could be fed, and this depended on the state of the roads and bridges. I think Gen Clellan intended to hold the West side till he could complete the roads and bridges, the bridges all over but Porter's Corps, make an attack to allow Porter to cross above, and then attack warmly with his centre and left, leaving Porter to make a feint and to cover the Railroad and communications. I say he was obliged to cross the river at the very first, and that he could not cross all for lack of bridges and roads through the Quagmires on either side of the Stream. To postpone crossing would have been

to relinquish the idea altogether. His intention undoubtedly was to build in a few days plenty of bridges, but the difficulties were tremendous. The troops and engineers were employed the whole time. The rains were tremendous and the mud was so deep that in many places the engineers were obliged to give it up, after making material and had made for a dozen common bridges. Then the enemy attacked at Fair Oaks before he had his bridges done, and although every effort was made to prevent it, almost every bridge was swept away by Sunday night. The freshet was perfectly unexpected. A man who came on Saturday night told me the water was nearly to his chin on Summer's bridge and he only got through by a miracle. Mr Bucket was obliged to come round on Monday morning by the Railroad to bring me food, and he said he saw the tops of wagons just above the water in the road near the river. How my bridges could have been thrown across during Saturday night and Sunday I cannot see. This, to my mind, perfectly accounts for Mc. Clellan's failing to pursue after the battle of Fair Oaks. The men were dying for food. So we now know (which he had no reason then to suspect) the enemy were much demoralized for 2 days, and perhaps a bold attack by a small force might have been successful, but it would have been madness to have tried it then. From that time the enemy were constantly receiving reinforcements — which we did not then know of. Go to Grimes' Mill he could not have reinforced Porter safely then, for you know the order to fall back

to the James had already been given, and besides, it would take one day for troops to march from the south to Porter, and it was not till the middle of the second day that Porter thought himself in much danger. Mc. Clellan might certainly have thrown his whole force against Jackson, and attempted to turn the Rebel left, and, if unsuccessful, to fall back on White House, and I could never see any great objections to this course, except that to retreat there would have exposed him more, and put him in a bad place to resume operations. The Monitor at White House was small, and few gunboats could operate there, and the roads to White House was awful, much worse than the more sandy roads to the James. I rather think by the time Porter's battles Mc. Clellan had become convinced that the enemy had received reinforcements which would enable him to successfully resist any direct attack, and that his best course was to get across and so entrench his position to the James from which he reinforced himself to renew the attack, and that Jackson began the fight early enough to force Porter into doing with less what he had intended to do quietly and safely. The enemy had certainly made great preparations to resist an attack by no means the right, and expected it, and had it been attempted and been unsuccessful the Army might have been destroyed.

I do not know whether I have succeeded in replying to any of your criticisms, but I feel I am trying to defend a man who has every thing against him clear before the world, and whose proper defence is

still hail Fidden. Do what splendid testimony comes out in his favor in these Courts Martial! Now we see that he had not the transports he wanted. Were they Mc. Dowell was included in his plans. For anything we know he was ordered to throw a part of his force towards Richmond, and at any rate we see that his best plans were spoiled, his earnest appeals for more men and for Mc. Dowell's co-operation disregarded, and that he could be sure of nothing and was forced to wait in uncertainty and distrust and deprived of that vigor and singleness of purpose without which no General can achieve a great success.

Now, I think that a very humble spectator, if he takes pains to observe, can see when things are well managed and when they are badly managed, and I can see everything went on better under Mc. Clellan. He attended to comparatively small things, such as the general cleanliness of the camps and cared for the soldiers &c. Our men actually fed better before Richmond (except when actually on outpost duty) than they do here. Our men are now suffering for vegetables, all for lack of vegetables &c. which certainly could be brought up by this time. I have never seen the least sign of ability in Burnside. Ols to our retaining and reenforcing, I cannot understand why the enemy allowed it. We allowed us to remain three days in the city. They might have almost destroyed us. The troops were jammed up in the streets and houses, Artillery would have had terrible effect,

and the bridges themselves were under the fire of the enemy's works. (A very few shell hitting the bridge would make awful confusion. I cannot see why the enemy did not attack us on Monday, or at least open fire on the city and destroy it, and with it ½ the Federal Army. Look at Franklin's evidence before the Committee on the war. I think then allowed us to come over to beat us, and let us go to save the city. Now, their defenses are doubled, and it would be impossible to cross here. (Go to Burnside showing own particular skill &c. I can't see it. The enemy gave him that day to remove his wounded from the city, and at night he marched back his troops, all without molestation. (Go to Mc. Clellan's violating the rules of war by crossing the James, what do we think of Burnsides crossing the Rappahannock with his own bridges under the fire of the enemy's works?

I think no reasonable man can say that we have a better General than Mc. Clellan, however low he may reckon him. Add to this that the Army trust Mc. Clellan alone, and I think his case and the duty of the Administration is clear. Mc. Clellan should be in Halleck's place and the one who would heartily co-operate should be Secretary of war. Perhaps we overrate Lee, Davis, Jackson and the other Rebel leaders, but I certainly think Mc. Clellan has gone so far to prove he excels them all, as his limited sphere of action could prove it. Now instead of one active mind and will to rule the Army, we have a Committee, and even Burnside submits plans to the President. Either tells

me I write too freely of my opinions but I think those whose lives are daily depending on such things have the right to criticise if any have. I have not been more open than Officers of every grade are here. There is one great universal Condemnation, not of Burnside in particular, but of the whole state of things which has brought us to this pass. It is not, as many think, that the Army is sick of fighting, but sick of fighting for nothing. When I think of Cabot and Alley and the others before, Lowell and our many friends, I feel that they are murdered, and I must put the crime at some ones door. In this last battle there was no hope or expectation of success. I saw, I have just read Dr. Allen's sermon, and I believe, as he says, that from all this suffering and evil a better state of public virtue will arise and I now daily look for some great move on the part of the really patriotic men of the country, which will shame Mr. Lincoln, & men honest and well meaning men, to turn over a new leaf, turn out his worthless advisers, restore Mc. Clellan, give him full power to do it or else, begin again and try once more what an Army can accomplish. The people must be obstinate to leave the affairs of the country in the hands of the President and the Generals for at least one year. I do not despair although I think we have lost 50 chances and 100 since the spring. We may crush the military power of the South yet.

I have written hastily to you, and I think I have shown how I feel. You probably see through all I say, a blind faith

in Mc. Clellan and I have an it is so but I think I have found it fairly. I do still believe he is the man for the crisis and no one else is. In short I believe in Mc. Clellan.

Now to change the subject. Bowditch is quite sick and wants to get home to Boston for medical advice &c., but lacks the one thing needful with which I cannot supply him. I believe he expects a draft from you. I cannot account for the Paymaster's delay. For I know I have overdrawn about $150. I have money to me for pay about $400., so now see I am not involved by any means. I hope you will send on some money to Bowditch in some way very soon. A draft on Washington is the best way, I suppose. Frank Haven wrote to Bowditch that he forwarded a letter to Bowditch through me soon after Bowditch left Washington, but I never got it. Did you send it to Bowditch or Haven?

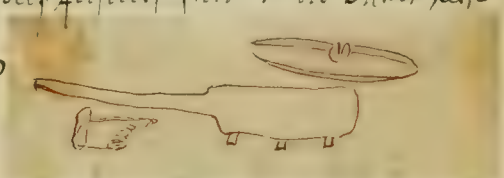
I have sent to Mother an order for a cap. Please see that it is wide across the temples. Those straight pieces are apt to bear too hard there. I should be delighted to get the boxes &c.

Our anxiety about the new Colonel has about died out. Tell me any news on the subject. I have a plan in my head (which probably is impracticable) but which sometimes amuse me, and by thinking of. In case we settle down a little more steadily here, or in case we should move to the rear, nearer Washington, I intend to apply for a very short leave, say 5 days, which perhaps I could

get, not intending to go home, but only at farthest to Baltimore, for a few days relief from Camp duty, camp life, and to take tea for a day or two. There at Baltimore, we will pass, to most purpose, a day or two in a Hotel eat like a Christian take a civilized bath, walk, ride go to some concert, theatre, lecture, panorama, or some such thing in the evenings. Call on Keighler and Grinnell, if they were there, and try to spend a few days in rational amusement and innocent pleasure consistent with the dignified society of an eminent lawyer, and at the same time adapted to the wants of a blood thirsty soldier just returned from scenes of carnage and carnage. I think we could manage 4 or 5 very pleasant days. As to going home that would be out of the question. One or two days at home would be poor satisfaction, and then it would be hard to come back. I do not think it would be much pleasure to Mother and Father, and it would be hard about getting away. With you, of course, the thing is quite different. Women folks you know, can't look so easily at these things and I am sure it would worry Mother dreadfully to have me make a flying visit and then go back to danger, her anxious mind would magnify to an alarming degree. I would not consent on any account to go home now but I think this plan about meeting you is very practicable. Of course do not speak of this, certainly to Mother and Father, for they would want me to come home. I am sure. Only if ever I saw a chance to get away, I want to have it all ready

arranged with you. Of course a furlough must first come, and then I should have plenty of time and feel ready for anything. Just tell me what you think of the plan. I have no doubt I could get a leave for 5 or 6 days, station I was to go only so far as Baltimore, much more easily than one to go home. Perhaps I could only get to Washington, which would be less pleasant, for it is a very crowded place and seems almost like a camp.

I want to know before long what you have decided as to times. One thing I entrusted to him to buy for me in Washington which I so much need that (in case he does not return) I wish you would send by express. It is a spider, "skillet" or oven" so called by the natives here, and is an iron instrument, merely a deep frying pan with short legs and a thick cover with a handle. Thus



The cover has a low rim. Sometimes there is no handle, then I believe it is called a "Dutch Oven". So nice are these: with it you can boil stew, bake, fry, and roast. With it I can have bread baked, instead of flour and water fried in grease, corn beef instead of fried steak, baked beans, baked potatoes and many other luxuries I am now without. It should be about 10 or 12 inches in diameter and 4 or 5 in depth. Its only objection is its weight, but as it does instead of a great many small things that makes little matter. Every house here has one here, where they cook in open fireplaces with wood fires, but I understand they are scarce

at home. Kinnear. I think we can get one. They cost $5 or $6.- only. Try to get me one as soon as possible. We are again poorly off for food. I find I get tired of nothing but hot potatoes and onions. Fried steak for breakfast. Boiled beef for dinner. This has been the bill of fare for so many weeks now, that one gets tired of it. It would be considered feast on a ranch, but in a steady camp I have discovered that it is necessary to live as well as you possibly can. You probably would hardly believe it, but I am sure that a steady diet upon wholesome food produces a steady diarrhoea, one which almost every one now has.

Father wrote some time ago about sending me $50. by James, and I wrote to him I thought it better to trust it to the mail a little at a time. I am not now in absolute need, because there is nothing to buy, but should be glad to have a little on hand.

On the way some months ago home, I think, I took charge of 22 or 23 dollars for one of the men Whitman by name, who afterwards died. I gave him a note at the time for the amount, and this Captain Shepard now has and has written to me he would like, if convenient, to draw the amount of Father, now he is at home, and pay Whitman's family. So please ask Father to pay the money on my note and charge the same to me. I have no doubt Whitman's family need the money, and I should have paid it long ago if I had known where to send it to. Write soon.

Your affectionate brother

Henry

January 15th 1863.

Dear John.

I send herewith to Bouhois the Prince's narrative, some private papers, and a pair of old straps I want to keep. Bouhois will tell you everything. Please send at once rate $5.- by mail without delay, as I borrowed $15.- to advance to him. $5.- I owed him, so I really lent him $10.-. Please put the private letters away in the box.

In haste

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Camp 2d Mass. Volunteers, near
Falmouth, Va. January 1st 1863.

My dear John.

I have received your letter of the 12th enclosing one from Curtis. You have probably seen Boutwell by the time you get this, and he will have told you how ill he is and how he stood the journey to Boston. I saw him good bye last night at Corps Head Quarters, where he has been several days. We expected to start at 10 A.M. to day by Railroad to Aquia Creek, thence by Steamer to Washington and right on to Boston. I send a small package of private letters for him.

By the way, it occured to me the other day that you once sent me a letter which said that there was an "enclosure" inside, and there was none, and so I wrote to you. Was anything of that kind ever lost, or was the document signed before you at Bolivar the one you omitted to put in? Also was there any money or stamps in the letter to me which I suppose you wrote to me lately and which I never received? I know there must have been some such letter, for the first notice I had of Francis illness was an allusion to a fuller account in some other letter. Boutwell was very glad you kept his important letters, as the mail has been irregular lately.

I was very much interested in your account of Major Willard's

death. As to the photographs, I leave it with you to choose the best likeness. I should be indeed very glad to have his picture. I never respected any man more than I did him. I hope you will see that whatever one you take is framed or carefully put up so as not to be injured in any way. You say Mrs Kasson's wish is to send me a Large picture of Herbert. If it is larger than a common card photograph, better keep it at home against my return. I could not take care of it here. By the way, I am afraid you will be unable soon to get me a full set of Class photographs. Had you not better see Delavan and ask him about it, and write to the artist who took the Class to preserve a full set for me. You know what a loss it would be to get too late. I suppose they will cost say $20.- in all, but if ever I get back I would not miss having them for anything. No doubt the man will wait for payment till I get paid.

Today we have marching orders to be ready to move in morning with three days ration and 60 rounds ammunition. Yesterday the pontoon train moved. I hear it went up the river. Last night was very stormy. It blew and rained tremendously. I fancy neither pontoons, wagons, nor Artillery can move to-day on account of the rain. Perhaps we are to try it again. On the whole I incline to think some movement is contemplated, but I do not think an advance of the whole army is to be expected. I think that a demonstration on the enemy's left is the extreme to be expected. The enemy have thrown up new

fortifications in front of Falmouth and dug more rifle pits, and therefore it is thought they have sent to the South and West a great part of their force. I dare say the rain of last night has put all movements out of the question. Perhaps this is the beginning of a withdrawal of the Army, part (say the right) by way of Warrenton.

If another real attack is to be made, I cannot see what can avert another great disaster. Whatever move may be made, the sufferings of the troops will be terrible on account of the cold and wet and lack of food and tents. The roads have been very bad for some weeks and will grow worse and worse till Spring. This morning it has cleared off with a strong West wind and is growing cold. I will write again soon, if I can. It seems to be generally thought that Hooker is to advance, and that at any rate our Corps is not to be put forward. Couch says that Sumner rubs his hands and says laughing that his Corps has lost thirteen thousand five hundred men in these two last battles, and seems quite delighted and proud at the thought. I shall be very sorry to lose my nice hut, but after carefully balancing all the chances I have come to the conclusion we (i.e. our Division) are not to move.

I hope to write and tell you how it turned out &c. &c.

Your affectionate brother

H Kemry

Saturday 31st January 1863
25th Regiment.

Dear John.

I received to-day your letter inclosing Twenty Dollars for which I am much obliged. I am sure I could not have told Louisa of his drafts and set his mind at rest as to his letters. I suppose he will not go to the Post Office in Washington, but no doubt you can easily get them back for him. I hope soon to hear from him. Please give him my Kindest regards.

The marching orders were countermanded last night, and it was said the march, or attack or whatever it was was postponed till Monday. I have also a reconnaissance was intended, and that it will take place Monday, and our Corps is to go. I think the probability is we shall not move.

To-day was fine but awfully cold and we had a review by Burnside. I think I never suffered more than I did waiting on the plain over which a strong North West wind swept for 2 or 3 hours this morning. The cold was I suppose not really very intense, say 25° or 20° Fahrenheit, but after a warm spell it seemed very cold. I am sure it was almost frozen. After all this delay Burnside rode by. Here and there a feeble cheer was raised. I really felt sorry for him when he took off his hat as he rode down our front, but there was

a dead silence, and he put it on again. When he got through General Howard thought he must get a little enthusiasm out of the poor fellow men, and riding in front called out: "Now 3 cheers for General Burnside!" one, two, three!" but not one single shout was raised, not a single voice, and he rode back apparently much vexed. I heard at a late review probably of a less disciplined Corps, the men yelled: "Butcher" at Burnside; as he rode down. I cannot but pity the poor man, for he certainly tries his best to please all parties. I know the men will always cheer old Sumner, in spite of his recklessness, but hate Burnside's unpopularity is because he follows McClellan and because his faults are on the work side. An army can bear any General but a work one. I hear rumors of our going back to Washington still, but I cannot think we shall move in this cold weather. Until you see it you cannot imagine what a dreadful thing suffering from cold is, and how quickly it sickens the strongest man. I mean continued cold, no sleep at night and marching all day. I have seen it here before the log huts were put up, men crowding round a fire all night, with one blanket wrapped round them, and perhaps wet too. We have had a man die here from illness brought on by frozen feet and another of diarrhoea both the effects of cold. If we should attempt active operations now the men would die just as they did at Sebastopol. One day is awfully cold and another pouring rain. Officers might get along

with cold clothing and servants to carry blankets and food, but for the men the suffering would be dreadful.

I do not like the Twenty Dollars very acceptable. Tell me what has been done about Prince.

Could you number your letters and mine? do me to tell if any miscarry. I think you might devise some plan, for the mail is sometimes robbed, but I notice a small, thin, unpretending letter generally comes safely.

Please send stamps.

Your affectionate brother
Harry.

Camp 20th Mass. near Falmouth
Va. January 25th 1863 (1 P.M.)

Dear John.

We have just been drawn up in line and heard an order from Genl. Burnside read which stated that the Army of the Potomac was again about to meet the enemy &c., and stated that the Rebel forces were weakened by sending men South &c., and hoping for a great success. Then we have orders to be ready to move at an early hour to-morrow. So I rather think another attack is contemplated. Artillery is now moving by our camp in a North Westerly direction, and I heard the other day that pontoons had gone up the river. So I rather think, it is expected to turn their left, and perhaps Franklin will attack their right at the same time.

Tho we suffered so much both at Fredericksburg and Antietam, I suppose we shall not be moved in at first again. I should not at all wonder if our Corps was left here on this side to await the attack on the enemy's left. Tho to the south I incline to think it will be successful so far as taking their works in front, but the Rebels certainly have had warning enough to get plenty of men if they can spare them! Perhaps they will evacuate but I incline to think they will make a good defense until entirely outflanked, and then withdraw which they easily can do with their Railroad. I do not in the least anticipate a brilliant victory, neither do I think a great deal of it

likely: Perhaps another Williamsburg on a larger scale. If we took these works, we should be little better off, for in such weather and on such roads a quick advance would be impossible. We shall see.

Best love to all.

Your affectionate brother

Ben.

C. 4th Regiment 21st January
Camp near Falmouth (2 P.M.)

Dear Mum.

We have not moved yet. No orders have come. Franklin moved on a mile or so beyond us yesterday P.M. and an immense train of Artillery. Yesterday afternoon it began to rain and has rained hard ever since all night and is drizzling still. Wind south but no sign of clearing off. Quite cold. The Pontoon train, entire Artillery and waggons are stuck fast in the mud about one mile from here. Roads awful of course and quite impossible. Troops exposed last night must have suffered dreadfully. I hear they have moved on but are of course without waggons, Artillery or Pontoons. I cannot but think the attempt will be given up. The utmost dissatisfaction at the most insane delusion, were shown by Regiments about here at the prospect of an attack. Regiments openly said they would not cross a bridge, the 42nd New York of our Brigade hooted at the order, even the 15th Mass. cheered for Jefferson Davis and groaned for President Lincoln. Our men of course were perfectly silent, but almost every one expects utter defeat if we could again have fine weather and after giving the enemy so long a time to prepare. The state of the Army is shocking. Our Regiment will not disgrace itself, you may be sure, but the Army is more demoralized and dissatisfied than I had ever thought before.

They have no confidence whatever in their leader. It is useless to attempt to disguise the fact. That this state of things is not known is not well known but it is very well known that the leading Commanders do not work together and that Burnside is not man enough to command them, and therefore takes principally the advice of Sumner who has more character than the others. We may be sure we are in a bad way enough now, and I only hope the enemy will not take advantage of it. If the move is entirely given up, and the troops are made comfortable, and well understand there is to be no fighting till Spring, they may improve in spirit and be fit for work in the spring, but what with constant fighting, poor food, no pay, innumerable hardships and desertion in battle, and now no leader, Officers of high rank all squabbling and almost talking treason, and the prospect of more hardships and more useless fighting the Army is completely used up, and I hope it is not treason to say so. At any rate, I must say so, or say nothing. Our Regiment as a Regiment, is good for anything, but I do not know another like it.

It is colder now than it was, for the wind is more northerly but while I have been writing the rain has set in heavily. I pity the poor fellows marching.

Received this morning Mary Ann's letter of January 7th enclosing one from Mother.

In haste

Your affectionate brother

Henry.

No. 1.

Fredericksburg, Va. January 29th 1863.

Dear John.

Your letter No. 1 of January 23d received to-day. Have very little time to answer it now. Will write fully. Joseph is to leave early to-morrow morning. He was to have gone to-day, but Fredericksburg snow-storm prevented. Received daily all moneys to wit: $10.- from Father; $20.- from you and $10.- from you.

Have been of course very much engaged with troops and in moving since arrived into Virginia & came here. Shy kindest regards to Southwick. Shall write to him very soon. Received from Whittier $2.- to give Smith (servant from home) and have $250.- by Joseph to use. How do I stand then?

Shall write you fully about military matters and Love and Letter. Send a few letters for Magazine lately, visit yet? Glad you have Mrs. Clark &c. Do not do anything when it is impossible. All well and desire regards.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Please ask Mary Ann to visit Flannigan and, if possible, Mrs. Cumpston and let Mary Ann spend as much as she thinks well from the two pair of my funds for their benefit.

No. 2.

2d Regt. Volunteer Engineers
Va. February 2d 1863.

My dear John.

Your long and interesting letter No. 2 received to-day. I have not time now to answer you about Mr. Mellen, but agree with you heartily as to the trust due to Genl. Cooke, and that he is an able man &c. However, you probably know he is an intemperate man, and a man of low moral character. From his course thus far, I should judge him to be an ambitious man, rather unscrupulous, but sensible and merciful. He has begun by setting us at hard work and granting furloughs and has taken steps to get back deserters. He has also set us all cleaning up and burning dead horses &c.

I have read the two articles in the Traveller, the one a letter (I believe from Mr. Raymond) the other Holt's review of the Carter case. I consider the first a shameful libel on the Army. Many of his statements I know to be false. For instance; about the pontoons. They were moved 2 or 3 days before there was any talk of the matter. The day before my servant went to a house in Falmouth where he had bread and the man, a half Union man, whose wife is a bitter Rebel, told him the exact place where Burnside would try to cross, to wit; Bank's Ford. Then as to the pontoons having been got up to within 1/2 mile of the ford, the rear of the train 5 or 6 boats,

were stuck in the mud not ½ mile from our Camp where I saw them, and I hear that they were there left all along the way. Gen. Meagher, who was there, & the enemy's rockets were lighting the ground, & rendering it impossible to cross the pontoons was a surprise is more folly. In such weather and such a surprise is perfectly impossible.

As to General B. not doing their duty, and throwing obstacles in the way, I do not believe it, I saw no sign of such a thing, and have not heard of any such conduct. I think every one felt the thing could not succeed, and felt no confidence in Burnside. From all I can learn and I have taken some pains to find out the truth, it was a mercy that the storm prevented our crossing, for we could not have been successful. It was only the desire to save the city that saved us at Fredericksburg.

As to Franklin, I have always considered him one of our first men. The testimony before the Committee which I read shows, I think that he attacked with as much of his force as was possible, and as well as he knew how. As to the absurd statement that his men drove the enemy and were on the point of success &c., I know it to be all false. I have seen those who were there. Gen. Pickett told me we gained no advantage to speak of, and never once got near the enemy's real works, and that at no time was there any gleam of victory. He also says that they lay under the Rebel guns and only wondered that the enemy did not see fit to destroy them

or at any rate inflict great loss.

Ole to Porter, the first thing that strikes me is the shameful unfairness of Colt's summing up. I never like the plan of banner or the prosecution. Ole to Porter's dislike of Pope, that is very natural. Pope had lost all character long before in the regular Army. He was despised by every regular Officer I ever met. Porter felt of course hurt at being put under such a man. Pope had got his Army all mixed up, and did not even know where the different Divisions were. This I learn from Colonel Duryea who went in with Sumner. Porter knew that Pope was utterly incapable, and that to follow his orders blindly, was to risk the safety of his entire Army, and he therefore felt called upon to act on his own discretion. Colt's attempt to rebut such tremendous evidence as Gen. Sykes and others with Porter, by the foolish evidence of Captain De Kay, for instance about Porter sitting under a tree &c. is really disgusting. This De Kay is a man who signs his name in immense letters two inches long at the bottom of Hospital Clothing returns &c. which I get every day. Ole to Colt's assumption that Pope really had a plan, and only backed Porter's attack to bring about a glorious victory, I see no proof of it whatever. Still it is very possible that had Porter attacked, we might have gained a victory, also that by great exertions he might have attacked, also that Pope ordered him to attack, but the question yet remains how far is an experienced General bound to obey implicitly the orders of a

Superior to know to be a fool, when he knows that by this obedience he may sacrifice his own & lives? I may have been wrong this time but I am sure I cannot believe he would wrong. But there is the most serious matter of all. The Army was packed. Holt was known as Porter's bitter enemy. Mulindale was once arrested and tried by Porter, and only Van Ness was Porter's friend. The evidence was public, everybody read it, and not the sentence took even one by surprise. An honorable acquittal was everywhere expected. These are my present views, but I still feel I have not fully enough examined the matter. You speak of the insubordination &c. of the Army: It seems to me the Army is a mighty servant who has been most shamefully abused. Of course disaffection exists. You cannot deprive men of their due and lead them on forever to needless slaughter and expect them to stand out for more. The Army is the most noble and patriotic Army that ever existed, and if it is now disaffected, lay it to the President not on us.

All quiet now. Leaves are being granted and probably during the next 2 weeks I could get a leave of 9 to 10 days. You do not answer my Baltimore plan very fully, but I have spoken to Joseph about it, and he will tell you how it stands. As to the expense I expect you will be my guest while at Baltimore, and insist on this. I want you to come very much. I assure you and it needs not. I shall probably remain here, although I should like a recess of a few days on my terms.

Clerk Jones, I am very glad you have got hold of the $30. deposited, and beg you to pay him nothing more without an order from me. I consider his conduct shameful. I have paid him now as follows:

| Dr. | | Cr. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Counsellor | 20.00 | I owe him wages @ $15.- from August | |
| " You | 2.00 | 4th till December 20th = 4 months | |
| " me here | 17.00 | 16 days | 67.50 |
| " " (Boots at Sidler's) | 8.00 | | |
| " Savings Bank | 15.00 | | |
| " his sister | 5.00 | | |
| | 67.00 | | 67.50 |

If he wants the balance so let him ask me for it. Besides these sums I believe I at various times, gave him $2 or $3. more. Considering the poor quality of his services, he is more than paid now. Did you not pay for the Doctor? We left no property here, only we have bad debts from the men, none of which I have collected. I have a very good man from the ranks now, James Smith, and shall keep him at present.

Write me fully about Baltimore &c., after you see Joseph. If I get a favorable answer from you, I shall apply for 6 (to 10) days, and if I get it will telegraph from Washington to you.

Couch is a most excellent Officer, and very far from being a newspaper man. Smith I have heard very highly spoken of.

Gen. McClellan dining with Wood &c. I do not like it — but attach little importance to it. Public men might be accidentally thrown together in a hotel in a thousand ways.

Thinking over the Baltimore scheme, I hope you will not do what you feel is not best, for my sake. I urge you, but you can judge best and if you should not come, I should know you decided rightly. You see I cannot judge as to your business, Father's views &c, and I know he is sometimes very set. I should be indeed delighted to meet you, and we could talk over things at our leisure and perhaps arrive at similar opinions on military matters.

I enclose a draft on the State Treasurer for $1[illegible] payable to order of Gov. Curtin which I advanced the money on, to oblige my neighbors. Please draw the amount and credit it to me. I authorized Flannigan in a letter to borrow of my money in your hands $20.00. I sent home by Gen. $250.00. He was to spend about $10.- for poultry in Philadelphia, and I suppose my debts at home do not amount to more than $150. leaving $100.00 to you with which to pay $10.- to Mrs. O'Kane as I wrote to you, and to settle for other things I may order. I wish you would let Mary Ann spend what remains or do much as she sees fit, for the benefit of my wounded men.

I hope you will write me an early answer.

Your affectionate brother

H Leary.

No. 3.

2nd Regt. Volunteers, Falmouth
February 5th 1863.

My dear John.

I was sorry not to get letters from you either yesterday or to-day, especially as I hoped that on receiving my last letters and speaking with Joseph you would resolve to come on and meet me at Baltimore, in case I go. I now have to tell you that I have applied for 8 days to visit Baltimore, and feel quite sure of getting as modest a request. I expect to get the leave and start on Saturday morning or on Monday morning, and expect to be in Baltimore the afternoon of the day I leave. I have lots of Commissions to attend to in Washington about Express matters &c., and must spend some hours there either in going or coming, but shall without fail push on to Baltimore the day I start. Now I do not know what you may have written or decided upon, but I must earnestly hope you will come on and spend the 8 days with me. I had to apply now, before I heard from you, or perhaps lose the chance. The spring campaign will no doubt open by the 1st April or sooner, and then we have the prospect of another year of danger and hardship, and, leaving aside the chances of battles &c, there is certainty of our not seeing one or other of you for a long season. I therefore would press you to come on, and if possible, after staying 4 or 5 days in Baltimore, return with me to Falmouth and stay with Herbert and me as long

as you like. We are very comfortable now in a house, and can get horses easily, and can build as a really big Army. Well, I leave you to decide, but be assured I shall look for you and expect you to come, if you possibly can so arrange it.

Already, I find enough to do for others and myself to occupy me during a day and a half in making purchases. I shall get a pass to bring on baggage to Falmouth.

I hope you have seen Mr. Clellan. I have thought over your last long letter, and talked it over with Abbott, but I feel sure I can answer it perfectly to your satisfaction. I want very much you should bear in mind all the facts which I know and I feel sure you will then agree with me. I reserve myself for an after-dinner talk at the Eutaw House, Baltimore. You cannot imagine how I look forward to this short release from the constant duties of camp, and freedom from camp restrictions &c. It is really a great thing not to have to get up by a drum-beat for 5 mornings. I shall telegraph from Washington, if possible, and shall put up at the Eutaw House in Baltimore. It is possible I may be delayed several days, but not probable.

Enclosed you will find a document of a legal nature. The facts are as follows: Thomas Carver, widower, enlisted in Company K. 20th Mass. last September, and was killed December 11th in action. He left issue Chs. Carver, now in Boston, Thomas M. Carver private now in my Company, and Philip M. Carver, private in my Company,

now home sick Carlow'd, and Stephen A. Carver, minor, now at home in Boston. Charles is desirous of obtaining all the money left by his father, viz. bonds &c. and appropriating it to his own use. The next two children, Thomas H. and Philip H. desire to waive their claims to their father's property in favor of their youngest brother Stephen C. (minor). Thomas H. brought me just now the enclosed paper stating these facts and asked for advice, he not thinking the enclosed paper a good legal one. I told him I would send it to you and ask you what could be done to bring about the distribution of property the[re]by. Please send to me any paper to be signed and tell me what is to be done. I suppose the 4 children share equally and in accordance with their wish Stephen is to have 3/4 and Charles retains only his own fourth. Do not this so?

I hope soon to see you in Baltimore, I remain

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

No. 4.

2nd Mass. Falmouth, Va.
February 6th 1863.

Dear Peter.

Yours No. 3 2d February just received in regular course. I have written you fully of my probable trip to Baltimore, and will not repeat, but only hope to get it and to meet you in due time there. I dare say I will get it to-night. I am astonished at the size of my account $93.75. I was only $30. when you told me before, if I recollect, and I remember nothing but Coat, Shoe and Cap since ordered. However, I have no doubt it is correct. If any come on please bring a list of my expenses. Then now stand we follows:

| Dr. | | Cr. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Sent to Father | 100. | By Expenses to February 1st | 750.75 |
| " Southwick debt | 10. " | " Pay, as requested in last | |
| " Balance from Accounts | 1. " | letter to Mrs. O'Kane | 10. " |
| C. S. Porter's debt | 10.75 | | |
| " Savings Bank, James | 15. " | | |
| " Sent by Joseph | 250. " | | |
| " " Draft in last letter to Corporal Parker | 17. " | Thus you will have on hand for me | 33. " |
| | $793.75 | | $793.75 |

I really had no idea my expenses were so large, or I should not have given any orders for new things yet. Charge to your account

you consider Capt. Shepard's note for $23. for Private Wilson; Capt. Macy's note of $4. and Mr. Folsom's note of $15. as paid. By the way nothing was ever said to me about Macy's note of $10. Was it presented and paid? I have been paid to include the 31st day of October 1862 and have pay due from that time to the present date, to wit:

2 = Lieutenant pay to January 1st = . . . . . 208.50

1 = do. addition from October 2d = . . . . . 15.

Commutation from December 12th = . . . . . 5.00

This is what I expect to get every day ——— $220.

Then from January 1st I draw at the rate of $119.00 per month, payment due February 28th.

Besides this I have $50. or 60 on hand.

Thank you for the vegetables. I will give Rohmo 2. Please tell me the total cost of my half as this will be for Herbert and my mess. Glad you did not send meat. I will get some in Baltimore.

Do you have seen Mr. Clellan? I want to have a talk with you about him. I do not by any means share in the prejudice against Hooker. He has done well thus far, and his promises well now. But I still believe him to be an unprincipled man. I have heard of his speaking against Mr. Clellan in Washington. In this last battle I have it literally nothing, merely sat on his horse and let his routed troops rush by him. He probably saw his own rise in Burnside's failure. I do not think him anything like so big a man as Mr. Clellan, but a very

quick and ready now, and a man of experience, education and courage. I think after the war Indians he will do well.

There is an intense feeling of disgust at the raising of Negro Regiments. It is foolish to attempt such an unpopular thing with the Union in its present temper. They had better not have one here. It would create an awful uproar. They will not fight if Negroes will not on an equality with the Whites. Right or wrong, this is the feeling and it would be madness to resist it.

I hope the Radicals have had their day, and that wisdom will yet appear in the councils of the nation.

Tell me what boxes or Carpet chests have come and what is in them? I forget what I left in those boxes at Coalesville.

Your affectionate brother

Henry.

P.S. Go to James McGahan, do not give him one cent more. I find he ran away leaving poor men here of whom he had borrowed money. Also that he told some one he did not intend to return, although he vowed he would to me. He is a swindler, nothing better. Better transfer the $15.- in Bank to yourself and do not pay him anything. I never want him to return. My present name, Smith, don't you write.

H. R.

Washington, February 10th 1863.

To John E. Ropes. 21 Barristers Hall. Court Square.

I shall be in Baltimore to-night. Hope to meet you there.

Henry Ropes.

Falmouth, Va.
February 21st 1863.

My dear Father.

I have received no letters from home for a day or two. There is nothing new here. The river has risen very much. Weather cloudy and snow melting fast. Murphy has gone home and took my silver watch which is out of ride repair. That watch has given me much trouble. Please get it repaired, and send it back if probible by Murphy. Cotton expects to go off very soon and Herbert in a week. Oh well. Very comfortable. No Express yet. Josephs present of Cantine is probably spoilt by this time. Capt. Roberts and Grafton of the 2d spend a day with us this week. Please send us by mail a few sheets of blotting paper. I may need an Adjutant while Cotton is away. Have finished the "Pilot". Think it good in nautical matters, but otherwise very silly and ridiculous. Enclosed is a letter for Mannigan which please give him.

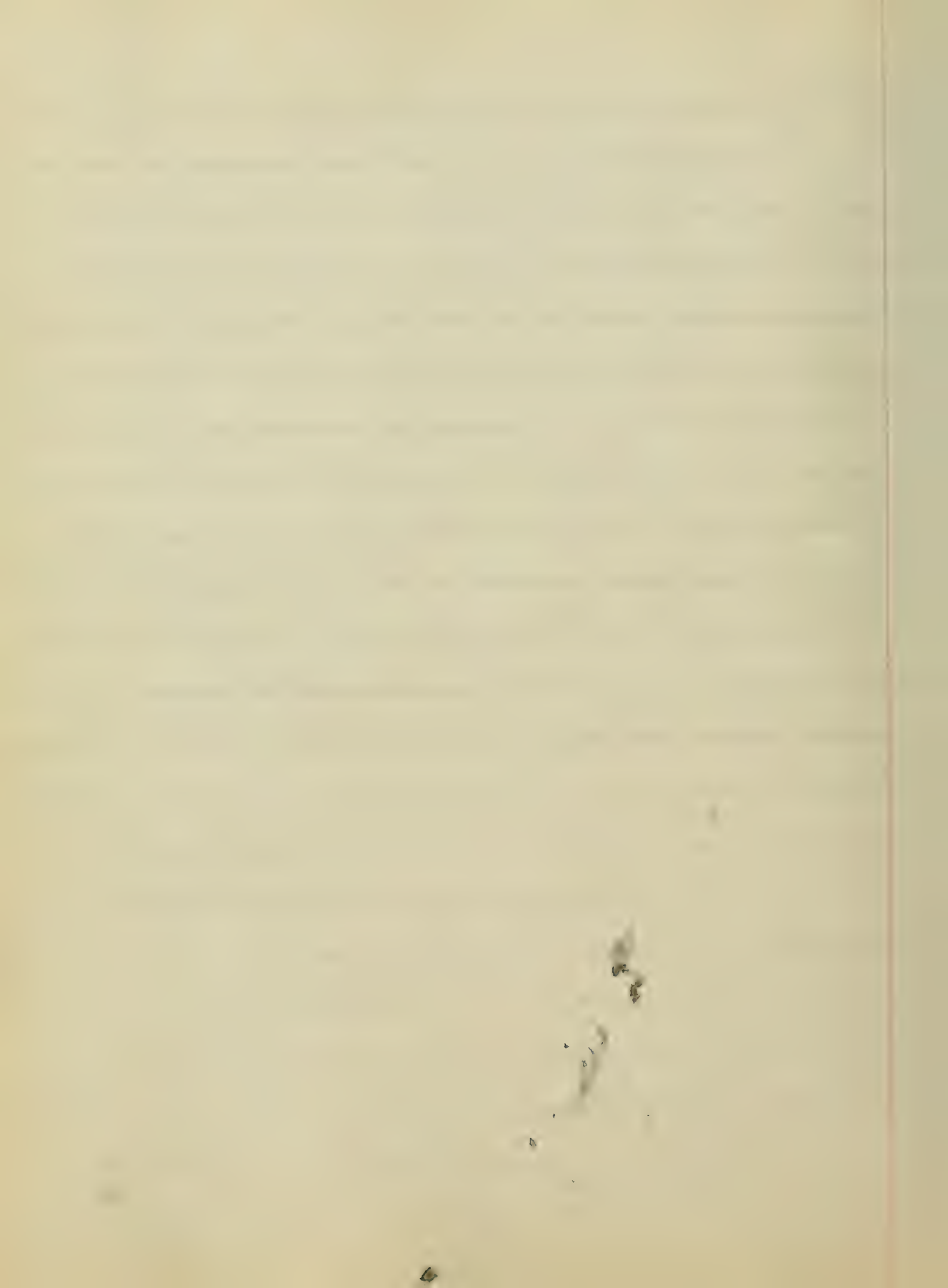
Your affectionate brother
Harry.

P. S. February 23d.

Have 24th with Louisa's 21st. also Mother's 23d received this morning. Please thank Louisa for the sweet words in the notice which I did not before know were sent by her. They were very nice.

Letter expects soon to leave for home. Murphy you have probably seen. You must have enjoyed Philadelphia Visit, muddy. Please send me by mail one of each of my photographs. I will send back the original one to you soon. I can give them away probably, and like to have having more of the new Kind. Remember as a general rule when you give away any of my photographs you should let me of the people to whom you give any, in exchange, and these please put in my book. I have just come from minister for January and February, so I have now 4 months pay due, and expect soon to send home plenty of money to pay for Chase photographs and all other expenses. All quiet as usual. River falling but still very high. The Citizens have all agree that after such an open winter the roads will not be fit for travel till very late in the spring, April at least.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.



Head Quarters 20th Mass.
March 5th 1863

Dear John.

I have received your letter enclosing a map of Antietam. So many Officers are going home that you will not lack for comt= =and now from the Regiment. Mrs. O'Mara lives at No. 50 West Cedar Street. Mr. Donough money is all right. I have not seen Joseph if he delivered any money for private E. O. Graves, drummer of my Company. He tells me Mrs. Graves has not received it.

We had a grand Corps review today. Hooker looked well. He is gaining in the confidence of every one every day. Such a change from Burnside. Men are now well fed, housed and clothed, and discipline is enforced. It seems more like the good old Mc. Clellan days again. The Army under Burnside was rapidly going to ruin. Hooker is energetic and acts like a soldier, not like a politician. There was no cheering whatever today, and no attempt to force one. Everything is quiet. I think I shall go home in a day or two.

I read with great interest your business plans. It seems to me that with Mr. Trask's aid, and with the stimulus of self support, you will do as well if not for the next 2 or 3 years in New York as in Boston. Then you can learn every day much about the business, and after becoming well acquainted with it, judge whether and how

what conditions you would join the firm. I believe Fish with you that you would do better & make more, & in fact live faster, that is spend & have more in New York than in Boston. (I hope like one, in fact do more & have no more. Stick to a man and impress him. If I see you in the fall can judge whether a year's practice in New York would injure your local prospects, in case you should conclude after all to practice law and live in Boston. I do not suppose it would. I am deciding in favor of the New York plan on the whole. But I would explain to Father, or at any rate to Joseph, the exact state of the case. Father would not object long. Let him think it over a few days, and I feel sure he will agree to your plan. One thing, however, I am keen Mary Ann, without ruinously to put her through and keep her from getting the dumps, and the blues, which are bad things when they get to be chronic. Mary Ann needs you very much. If I was at home, it would not so much matter, but if you go off she will not go anywhere and will get to be an old maid before she is a woman. But then she could come on once in a while and see you and stay at Martha's.

In spite of these objections and the scarcely less serious one of leaving Mother, I really think you ought to go, and not let slip an opportunity which is now presented to you, or at any rate now particularly brought to your remembrance. In New York you would have your rooms, your friends, your society, and be perfectly independent. You would probably work hard, and play hard, and be better for both. You would

find plenty of room and very likely if business
prospects brighten you may see your way clear to a pretty little
wife, for you have a good pick in New-York, and to be a first cousin
from Boston is a great thing in spite of all they say about
us. Do think you had better go and set up in New-York and
leave the final decision as to entering the firm until you have seen a
little into the state of things in Mr. Peask's Office. I hope you
will write to me your opinions as they come up. I should be delighted
to see you in the Business for its benefit for once and prospectively for
mine!

Tell me if ever you got the Solo cruise in Washington. And
whether you took home with those little things for me!

Best love to Mary Ann. Tell her to write whenever she feels
like it. I hope you will see Putten and Herbert of course.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

2d Miss. March 7th 1863.

Dear Lelia.

I have looked over this map I send enclosed, and find it is entirely incorrect as to positions of troops that I thought you would like to see it somewhat corrected. I have rudely marked our positions. I am not certain as to where was the we camped on the 6th, nor where we crossed the Pontchartrain nor where we formed lines; but you know those matters. The principal absurdity is in putting the Rebel lines so far back. My Company picketed on the right, and my right post was the toll house. The enemy were in a Cornfield said on a hill 1/4 of a mile or less in front.

The celebrated Cornfield is put too far to the right. It was almost opposite the Church. The 31st New-York was the left Regiment of Grimes's Brigade, and the Church broke them so it did our 42d New-York.

All quiet, no news. No letters.

Your affectionate brother
W Terry

20th Regt. March 15th 1863.
(Sunday)

My dear Sol.

I have received yours of the 2nd inst. I find I shall have to give up the numbering of letters and therefore have not received that of the previous one. I wrote you rather a long but hurried letter about the plans, which I suppose you have now received. I did not know that law practice in New York was so different from that in Boston, and I thought it perhaps better for you to continue law for some time in New York.

Hooker is doing well, as I have written, and has got the confidence of the Army, to a great extent. Still, in the line operations of command, the 2 years and 9 months men will be gone, and we shall be inferior to the army in numbers. I do not believe the conscription will work, and the Negro Regiments are worse than useless. This is the most impolitic step the Government has yet taken. If unsuccessful in raising many men, still the evil effects are done by dividing the North and uniting the South, and if they raise men these will certainly be put in the Old Army. If Hooker fights, he must fight a doubtful battle, and if he wins it will be at the cost of his Army. This Army is all that is left to depend upon now, and if that is sacrificed we shall be in a bad plight. Therefore I do not expect an active

campaign to open soon but rather a policy of threatening also.

Glad to hear Boulwin is so much better. Mary and Hetty are back. You must have had a very pleasant time at home with the young Lewis. And then we do so like to have dull here, and I like to have a pleasant time even though I cannot enjoy them. I am very sorry to hear that Mrs. Clem is dull and is not well. Still I see no prospect of a change of life to her. You must get her to go out as much as she can, and visit often.

Gen. Weld was here to dine yesterday. He has now charge of Gen. Benham's staff. The General expects soon to have a Corps. He was kind enough to ask me to come on Gen. Benham's staff, and he had the General's permission to ask me, as he thought proper. It was very kind of him indeed, and I thanked him for it, but told him of course that I could not think of leaving the old 2d. Please not to mention this. Cold weather now, roads frozen. Miss Herbert very unwell.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Palmer desires his regards.

Dear John. I send "Sword of the Rock" which perhaps can be bound somehow. Also Mary Ann's vest. The cold weather is about past and I take this opportunity of getting rid of every thing I cannot easily carry. Please have it carefully kept. H.R.

Received March 1st/63.

Falmouth, Va. 18th March 1863.
Wednesday.

My dear John.

I can't write that I have had no letters from home for 3 or 4 days, but I suppose you have sent them on by Herbert or Tatton. I have received a letter from Flannigan who was wounded at Fredericksburg and who is now in Hospital at Alexandria. Will you please send him $5.- in a letter and charge the same to me? Direct to "Private Thomas Flannigan, Company K. 20th Mass. Volunteers" and enclose the envelope thus directed in one directed to "Thomas Flannigan, New Camp of Convalescents, Vet. Barracks near Alexandria, Va." Please be very particular about these directions. I would send him some myself, were I not rather short, just now. We expect 4 months pay in a day or two. Please send this to Flannigan as soon as possible, as he is in want of it.

I wish you would order for me at Mason's a very thin light waistcoat, of blue flannel or thin cloth. We have my measure, only tell him that it is a little too large in the waist. Also a thin sack coat, of dark blue cloth, very thin, or of good flannel, neither to be expensive. The coat to button up to the chin close, and to be cut in to fit the shape of the body, not a loose sack. One coat 2 inside breast pockets. No side pockets at all. Coat quite short,

sleeves large at wrist 5 buttons in front one at each cuff. You can get a little bit of wild Indian and put in back of old 2 = Coat as I stand, and it will do. Coat should fit neatly so that the belt would not crease it up. I want it very thin and light and not expensive. Get the same cloth too dark Prussian blue. Go to the Camp Chest we had from Galesville, did you find there a pair of leather leggings? I should like to have them shaved up for me. Send on the Coat and Vest as soon as made. No wadding in any part of either, same as before. Of course the vest must be made in a smaller measure than thick clothes.

Be very careful when you send me these things to have them in a strong box that could be easily opened. Put in a couple of boxes Head powder and a pot of pickles if there is room. So much for business. All right, no prospect of a move. They think at Corps Head Quarters that McCook will try a fight before the 3 months and 2 years men are gone.

I have had another staff offer. Col. Morgan at Corps Head Quarters sent for me yesterday and wanted me to be Provost Marshal of the Corps in place of Major Mullen, who is to return to his Regiment the 22nd. Colonel having resigned. I told him I could not leave the Regiment of course. It would have been a very comfortable place there, no doubt permanent. 100 Infantry and 50 Cavalry under my orders, plenty of transportation, a special

horses, in camp by myself, always close to Corps Head Quarters, and a very easy, independent and rather well time generally. On the march the duties would be arduous and in action visiting, although not as danger. I suppose that must be concluded to live up Chaplains &c., but I do not like that kind of thing. The great temptation to me is the having one or 2 good horses to ride. I have ridden a good deal lately and like it very much. I enjoy this kind of rough riding across an open country better than a regular ride on a beaten road at home.

I am very glad you are sitting at the house. Hope you Sur- the Doctor too. Mac, is very sorry to have missed you. He is no well as ever and is exceedingly happy now. He left Mrs. Macy in Philadelphia. We are all disgusted here that Lieut. Colonel Baxter of the 20th Michigan is made a Brigadier General over Col. McAll. Mr. Chandler of Michigan however, understands, could not consent to have a man of Col. McAll's politics, especially a Vet. Senator, and as Michigan had not had her fair share of Generals it was left to this worthy representative, and now Baxter, instead of being a very ordinary Lieut. Colonel, is a miserably inefficient General. One of the most shameful things we have heard of lately is the sending home the 2 New Hampshire Regiments to carry the election, which they did. Their Colonel is a leading Republican Politician. They were nominally sent home

to recruit, but as this was about twice as big as the average Rebel to
of our Corps, this house did not take.

Please send me a few postage stamps, and a dozen or two
large envelopes, such as Official business comes in.

Love to all. Hope to get letters to-morrow.

Affectionately
Henry.

Falmouth, 21st March 1863.

Dear John.

I have received your letter in which you asked for a horse to be sent to Herbert. Herbert has come all right, and McKay and Murphy and Walker too. The shirts are just the right size. Please ask Mother what the first ones cost, and let me know. Herbert has brought the books, blotting paper, flannel shirt, hinges, locks, envelopes and tooth wash. You probably forgot I got a copy of "Nicholas Nickleby" in Washington. Also Herbert brought a very nice pair of slippers which I suppose you got for me. I do not need them, however as I bought a pair in Baltimore. I will not order another pair of shoes yet, for I think my present boots will be enough. I sent home by Saunders, I forget whom, parcel of Company papers. I have got some more papers and some Company Books which I intend soon to send home to you. Please keep them for me. I have written to Capt. Shepard that I shall send these to you and that there may be some private papers of his among them, and that he can get them from you at any time. So please let him have whatever he asks for. As we cannot tell when we may move, and as we certainly shall have but little transportation, I intend to reduce my baggage to the lowest limit, and expect soon to send home a box of things to mine, to be kept for me. Please tell me if there was anything

I might want in those two boxes I left at Galesville.

Herbert has had a delightful time and as favorable weather. Every day his sleighrides.

I really feel unable to say anything to you about your business plans. I feel unable to come to any very positive opinion, but incline towards the business plan. John Grays reasons are certainly strong. You would have to give up all hope of a partnership with him, and this is much to lose. I see that you have presented the other side, I feel quite at a loss, but am sure you will decide rightly yourself and shall be glad when the question is settled.

Please send me out 3 or 4 of my own pictures, old ones, just as good as any, for some of the fellows here want them.

Letter for Mary Ann enclosed.

Affectionately
J. Perry

Falmouth, Va. March 26th 1863.

My dear John.

I received your letter of the 8 of March 21st last evening — Merbal has paid me for the locks &c. which are excellent — I shall be delighted to get the boys. On the whole I feel relieved to think you have determined to stick to law, a lawyer is an eminently respectable person. If I should ever get into the business, I should probably like to have you there, but while things are so unsettled by the war, I am glad you are not to change. Did you ever receive a letter from me about this matter?

As to the Negro Regiments, I never said that was the cause of the divided South &c., but one of the causes, and perhaps the principal. You say the Government has no idea of having Negro Officers. Nonsense! within a few weeks a number of Maine Officers have been put in arrest for refusing to report to a Negro Captain at New Orleans, and privates arrested for not saluting Negro Officers. The whole scheme is carried on by reports who believe in forcing the Negroes to an equality with the whites, and in the bill providing for the employment of Negroes as Soldiers, no prohibition of Negro Officers is made. Gov. Andrew has acted very wisely for the success of his scheme in having white Officers in his new Regiment and has picked those

North:

Officers from the choicest Regiments now in the field. I will venture to say no Regiment was ever raised officered better than the 54th Mass. The leading Officers are Gentlemen, and besides most of them have seen a great deal of real service, have shown themselves able and brave Officers in battle and are taken from Regiments of special reputation for strict discipline. Of course with such Officers the Regiment must be at least splendidly disciplined and drilled, and will be splendidly led. But how are these Negro Regiments in New-Orleans officered by Negroes and common white Officers? Capt. Roope, Banks's Staff, Roberts's brother, writes that they are a miserable good for nothing mob. I have no more doubt of it than I have that the 54th is a model Regiment. See then what a price we pay for a good Negro Regiment! We take away Officers capable of making a much better white Regiment. You make a mistake, I think, in saying that "they will do to garrison forts &c." To hold a fort well attacked, requires as soldierly qualities as to attack a fort well defended. If Negroes will not fight in one way, they will not in any way. I never saw the principle stated before, that inferior troops will do for defense. I do not believe this is so. If then the expression means anything, it means that "they will do to hold forts, not attacked". But then the question is: "What need of any troops" or at any rate a merely nominal number of little consequence? In both cases, if the forts were

attacked, we should be obliged to send good white troops to defend them, and what a waste of money and of white officers it is to keep such useless troops. But it is said that white troops cannot stand the climate. This I doubt, but if so, white Rebels cannot attack in such a climate. Then what is the use of the Negro troops? One reply: "We want men". I say: "We want soldiers, not men". (My experience is that poor troops are really worse than useless, and from what I have seen of Negroes, I believe they will make poor troops. The great majority of them must be field hands, not Northern free Negroes, but Southern. I think then (for the sake of argument — throwing prejudice aside) that Negro troops are useless in the same sense that Regiments of boys under 12 years would be useless, or if it were possible Regiments of women.

— There is another and more important aspect of the question. There exists in our country (right or wrong) a tremendous, deep rooted prejudice against the black race. Not against their color, nor against them personally in their own station of life, but against the Negro taking equality with the white. I dare say I do not express myself clearly. I mean that an ordinary American does not hate a Negro servant — or laborer, but a negro who tries (or whose friends try for him) to raise himself to his (the whites') position in life. This is the real first — of the evident inferiority of the Negro race to the white; 2d — to the fact — that the one race has held the other so long in slavery. Now nobody

objects to an intelligent Negro bettering himself, and filling any position he can, but people object to a party who have for so long Striven to force the negro into social equality with the white. For this reason the majority of soldiers in our Army would consider it a disgrace to serve under a black Corporal, or Officers, and would never have enlisted had the expected so to serve. There is no difficulty in enforcing obedience and respect to a white Officer, however stupid, brutal or ignorant he may be, for there is no reason why he should not be intelligent, kind and wise but the strongest feelings men have are these feelings of nationality and social position. You can no more offend this and avoid an outbreak in our Army than you could abolish caste in India.

Now I believe I am as little affected with prejudice against the Negro, as any one can be, but I think it so plain as to need no proof that the Negro race, as it exists to day in the United States is utterly inferior to the white, as inferior as the reptile is to the bird or the animal. Exceptions of course often occur, and were it not for this antagonism of race against race, each Negro, like each white man would rise or fall to the position in life he was fitted for, but this difference of race is a boundary which cannot be passed. Negroes and white men are naturally as separated as dogs and cats.

Now in the South, while there is less repugnance to them as individuals, there is more hatred to them as equals. In fact they cannot acknowledge equality and support Slavery, and to break up Slavery

would not only cause a great conviction but is what to attempt which they have been bred to consider the most horrible of crimes. With them, the raising the Negro to an equality with the white is perfectly insupportable. Thus I say our raising Negro troops has divided the North and united the South. Divided the North by breeding dissatisfaction and insubordination in the Army (New Orleans, Gen. Stephenson &c. &c.) and by offending the strong prejudices of a great part of the people. Uniting the South by making the question of war not a political matter, capable (theoretically at least) of being compromised and arranged, but a question whether or not to stand by the old institutions of the country, and oppose the awful horrors of a slave insurrection. A Union man in the South now is thought the same as a man who favors a slave insurrection, i.e. worse than a murderer. Of course it is foolish to suppose that I expect the Rebels will actually fight harder in battle now than they did at Williamsburg & Fair Oaks, but now they will not give in until they are reduced far beyond what was the yielding point a year ago. The Americans fought as well at Bunker Hill as at Yorktown, but the way to peace and compromise was open until by repeated acts of barbarity, not the least of which in the public estimation were the employment of Negro troops, had driven the Americans to a determination to have independence at all costs. So I think it is now with the South. If

ever acts had not been contradicted "uniting" them closer and closer, they never would have stood what they have stood and are now standing. The best proof that the South is more united than ever is that they are still united at all. And as to the North. Where is the enthusiasm of this time last year? Where the confidence? Where, I might say, the patriotism? If you think there is the ten thousandth part of it left; if you think that anything but discipline influences this Army, you are very much mistaken. Among the better class of Officers there is patriotism, that is a determination to stand by the Government and the Country; but I have not yet seen the least enthusiasm anywhere. The Army will fight better than ever, but if it had last year's enthusiasm combined with its present discipline, it would be the best Army the world ever saw.

There is one other view to take of this Negro matter. The Constitution speaks of the Soldier as an "able-bodied, free white citizen &c.", and I think it was a tacit covenant with every Soldier, when he enlisted, that this should be the Soldier and nothing else. To use an absurd illustration for the sake of Example, suppose the Government should raise a female Regiment: Would not this cause mutiny? Suppose I am ordered to report to a female Captain for duty, suppose a female Colonel is put over me, what am I to do? Or suppose the Government should reduce the pay of the Soldier to $1.- a month? Would there not be mutiny? Yet, so far as I see,

they have a technical right to do this. I ought to say finally that I do not think we are in such want of men as you imply, and that if I did I dare say I would consent to the enlistment of negroes, under two restrictions. 1st = No Negro Officers, 2d = No Negro non-commissioned Officer ever to be put over a white soldier. These restrictions would obviate most of these social difficulties.

I think it is not a mere question of raising troops, but that this matter is taken as a means of forcing the whites to recognize the Negro as a social equal. The people of America, it seems to me, look on a Negro in much the same way as an English Nobleman looks on a Laborer. Both are willing to acknowledge the other in his station, and give him his rights, but to force white men to act under and salute Negro Officers would be like forcing every English Gentleman to invite half a dozen laborers to dine every week, or in some other way to acknowledge equality of social position, which he would not do, of course.

I have written rather a lengthy and disjointed letter, but I dare say you will excuse it my reasons for opposing Negro troops, which I do heartily. I do so in for a rigid adherence to the Constitution and obedience to the Government and for enforcing the draft and carrying on the war. But I detest this way of bringing politics into the Army. Men's lives are too valuable to be trifled—

with so awfully, and I think it is an awful sin to place a miserable and ignorant General in command of men, because he is of this or that political party. Yet this is done, even in our own Brigade. Probably 2 in each sacrificed hundreds of lives by detaching Blenker's Division a year ago "to satisfy the friends of Gen. Fremont", as he says he did.

While I am sick of this sort of things of which I see so much, and by no means so hopeful of a brilliant and successful campaign, as you are, I hope I am no really patriotic as ever, and as determined to do what I can to carry out honestly whatever the Government determines on attempting with this Army.

Leaves are stopped from April 1st., so I shall not be able to come home, even if I thought it best.

Your affectionate brother

Henry.

April 2nd 1863.

Dear John.

Abbott goes home this morning, and I send a letter by him because it seems as if the mail had completely failed. I have not received letters for a long time. Please ask Mr. Mother that the socks she sent by Carver have come all right. Please ask Mary Ann to write again any letters she may have sent during the last week or two.

I hope we will see a good deal of Abbott, who will settle your Mc. Clellan heresies with Jomini and the Authorities.

In haste
H. R.

Yorkville, Va. April 6th 1862

My dear Ellen.

I have received your letter of March 31st. Much obliged to you for taking so much trouble about the affairs of the Company. I have sent to Conrad Barko and one other Canadian named ... the boy containing the things and Roberts. Capt. Shepard will probably not call in the present as he expects to be back by May 1st. The Slippers do not want mend but will send for them perhaps by and by. The Buffalo may be useful for a few weeks at home, and then had better be put away like any other skin and kept for next winter.

In addition to the Sack and Vest, I would like a pair of trousers, light or dark blue (the light preferred provided they are as strong and as cheap) of with a light, perhaps coarse cloth serviceable and not expensive. One private of my Company Fitzgerald, has gone home on leave, and returns by the 15th April. He will call at your office and will bring us anything ... if the pants are done too. I dare say he would take them. I would be much obliged if you would buy 2 balls, suitable for playing "base ball". I want them for the men of the Company. I am sorry I did not think to tell you of these things before, so that you might have sent all together, but I dare say it will now be in time for Fitzgerald.

Lieutenant

Willard has left us for a Captaincy in the 5th Colored. He owes $ Co.- to the Regimental fund of which I am the Treasurer. and I asked him to pay it to you, to be credited to me, and when you notify me of that, I will balance the debt here, and pay it when we are paid, which will be very soon now. I suppose this $ Co.- will about half pay my indebtedness to you and Father.

I am now acting as Provost Marshal of Dismantle, while Holmes is away. Do you know whether Joseph has received one or 2 letters from me about the money matters of my Company, and whether it is all right now?

I am glad to have that Jervis (2nd) has a good appointment. What does Jim Perkins think of Negro Regiments? Jim Hallowell is, I here in favor of Negro officers. Willard said he opposed them. We do not think Willard has done exactly the right thing in leaving us, for he was strongly opposed to Negro Regiments until he was offered a Captaincy, and then he suddenly changed.

By the way, have you seen a letter from Mc. Clellan about the capture of Harpers Ferry, and the Antietam Campaign? It settles the whole question to me, and again Mc. Clellan comes out bright from one of the things he was terribly abused for. The delay in going to the Peninsula, the delay in returning, the evacuation of Harrisons Landing, and the taking of Harpers Ferry are the things that at the time did more to create distrust in Mc. Clellan than any

others; yet we now see how perfectly innocent he was and how sure victory would have been had his advice been followed. So you said in regard to Gen. Andrew- the evil results remain long after their cause has been shown to be false.

As to this Army I heard from pretty good authority it was to be broken up and sent West and South. I do not believe it; at any rate it seems likely we are to remain some time here. We had a snow storm yesterday, and much mud. Still I think the Roads are as passable as they were when we moved last year. I have heard something about Fair Oaks I never knew before. It seems that by Gen. McClellan's orders a vast quantity of logs had been cut and fitted for bridges and piled up close to the Chickahominy in front of Porter's Corps, and roads to be thrown across immediately, and also logs for Corduroy roads, and it was arranged that these logs should be carried over by Regiments as soon as the bridge should be built. So soon as the enemy attacked Porter was ordered to throw across these bridges and cross and attack, and attempted to do so, but the flood swept all away and in spite of his utmost efforts, and every preparation, he had to give it up. This proves to me that the attack on us was foreseen and provided for, and but for circumstances beyond human control, would have resulted in a rueful defeat of the Rebels and perhaps the capture of Richmond.

I am glad you have enjoyed John Grant's visit and have

taken his advice. On the whole I feel easier to see you as you are, at least for the present. Please send me some stamps. If it would not cost much, say 2 or 3$. I wish you would have 100 of each of the enclosed blanks printed for me, on ordinary paper, and in perfectly plain style. It is not a matter of your special convenience however. I think a few stamped envelopes with your and Father's printed direction would be very convenient, and I dare say not expensive. I give examples of the form for parcels. The words underlined are not to be printed, but room enough left to fill in in writing. I should like 100 of each if convenient.

Your affectionate brother
Henry

April 9th 1863.

Dear John.

Yours de nigris received and will be answered. Please order for me at Rice's pair light Elm shoes like those last. Same measure as boots. single Sole, not heavy. Soles not to project, no toe cap, made to buckle, same as buckle pattern. 9th 1863.

Yours in haste
W. C. R.

Falmouth, 14th April 1863.
Tuesday 9 A.M.

Dear John.

We have every reason to expect an immediate move, but in what direction, no one can tell. I incline to think it merely a demonstration to prevent the Rebels sending more troops South, and perhaps to cover the embarkation of reinforcements for Hunter and Foster. At any rate, so we may not now be able to see the Paymaster for a long time. I wish you would please send me instalments of $5.- in each letter you write until I get $50.- I have now nearly $300., due, and the Paymaster now to have been here this week; but this move may put him back.

All well. Cavalry and Wagons went forward the eight instant.

In haste

Affectionately
Henry.

Falmouth, Va. April 16th 1863.

My dear John.

I have just sent a box to Washington to be sent by Express to Boston. It is directed to "Wm Rogers, 32 Beacon St. Boston Mass." It contains first 1 pair long heavy leather boots and one pair Rubber boots which belong to Col Rice and he would be much obliged to me to send them to his Father, Charles St. Also one wool blanket, one pair thin boots, (legs cut) a dress coat waist coat, pair straps and watch. This is all I think, but I made up the box in a great hurry and may have forgotten all I put in. I wish you would send to me, either by same - but coming on the Express. The thin dress coat. It will probably come together with the shoes and trowsers I wrote for last. The Straps I returned. I did not want these old ones, but the much nicer pair you sent and to me last June and which I always wore on my best coat. However, no matter now, for I have mine. I send back again the silver watch which is again out of order and will not keep. It is no use trying to patch it up any more. It has always been a miserable watch and never went well for a month. I have got some watch maker to allow you something for it and buy me another. I must have a hunter and a watch that will keep reasonably good time under all circumstances.

I do not in the least care for a handsome watch. I do not of a second hand. I dare say this one is too small, made for an Army watch. I see it has a compensation balance wheel and perhaps it will do me well for home use. I want a watch that can stand hard usage, go in any position, and will not stop when exposed to cold. I dare say a good Lepine watch would be best. Do not send out the new watch by mail.

I wrote to you for some money as the Paymaster has not yet come. I think it is shameful to leave us thus 6 months without pay. Did I or did I not send $3. to Corporal Hinckley in a letter to one of you, I think Mother or Mary Ann?

Abbott and McCalmon are back. Abbott brought me some stamps from you. Received a letter from Father yesterday dated 11th. Father alludes to the box of Herbert's and my things, which I suppose came all right. The Apples came all fresh and sound, in the box with the Oranges Lemons &c.

We are ready, but so far as I know nothing has yet moved but a few Cavalry toward Winnsboro. Day before yesterday and yesterday we had very heavy rains. The river has risen tremendously, 12 feet. Roads muddy of course. We do not in the least know what to expect or when we are to go. Extra clothing of the men has been sent to Washington and extra baggage of Officers sent off.

I am sorry we were unsuccessful at Charleston, but

fully expected it and fully expect capture at Vicksburg. We shall meet with nothing but disaster till we turn over a new leaf. I hope you read Mc. Clellan's reports. I better read again his letter from the Peninsula about the evacuation and about the necessity of forces. This Army may win a victory but certainly cannot follow it up. Our losses since I was laid up with the mumps in May 31st.

I am sick and by reading the report of the War Committee, or rather I see more the great opposition of West Point the other the villifier of Mc. Clellan. What more can be said in his favor than that he is picked out for constant abuse by such a compound of ignorance and falsehood? I wish I had a chance for a long talk about the recent developments concerning Mc. Clellan and the Peninsula. I have read Everett's speech with great pleasure, and how the Country feels with him.

Hooker seems to be about a great thing now if the impossible order to carry 3 days rations means anything. If this is often repeated we shall lose half the Army by sickness; but it may be only for a great march and a great strike and then a rest.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Falmouth, Va. April 17th 1863.

My dear Ella.

Yours of the 11th received last night. Am very much obliged for all you have done. Did 2 Buffalos come tied together with the box? Mine is marked distinctly "H. Rogers". I received the baseballs. Have no doubt I shall like the trousers. Rodgers of my Company — was not wounded at Antietam, nor was he there at all to the best of my recollection. He fell out 3 days before on the march completely used up. He died of diarrhoea.

I am glad you got the $ 60.—. Does this pay all my bills? If not, how much is still wanting to make me square? Fitzgerald has not yet come, but I expect him daily. I dare say there is difficulty in getting to the Army now. I should think it not worth while to get any printed stamped envelopes. The passes will be very convenient indeed. I am very glad you all like Abbott so much. He has written you a most excellent letter about Mc. Clellan, which I have read. I want to ask you a question. In case you find your arguments against Mc. Clellan overthrown, are you ready to come boldly out and stand up for him, and take back all you have said against him? I fear you are not. I fear you have a prejudice which nothing can remove. I fear that when your arguments against Mc. Clellan are overthrown, you will entrench yourself with a veiled acquies-

= sence in the fact that he was really a great man and that it was spite he was removed etc. and will not come out and lift up your voice & like a trumpet and show the people their sins and Abraham his transgressions. Now I do not look for a blessing on our arms till this tremendous wrong is righted. God has given us a great work to perform, and a great and good man to do it, a man who will not stoop to low truckling politicians who will not make the slightest effort to gain popular favor, who does his duty before God according to his own conscience, regardless of results, and who is therefore unacceptable to the low instincts of the people who hate him because he is an educated Soldier and a Gentleman and despises popular applause. Mc.Clellan's friends are not among the lowest of the rabble, but among the middle and upper classes. If he had gone howling like Butler and made speeches and tickled the vanity of the populace and courted their favor and talked a little violent radicalism, he might have now had the Rebellion under his feet and have been the idol of the people, and because he would not do this, I like him the more.

Butler and Hooker are the men for the American people now. Mc. Clellan is only called in when fear has overpowered everything else and when the enemy is at our gates. Then they rush to him. him whom they had abused, he saves them, then cheers and kick him out again.

I have nothing to say against Hooker, no one knows, but I

do not expect to see the Rebellion put down till Gen. Mc. Clellan is in Halleck's place and is left with full control for at least 18 months. Perhaps we must wait till he is in Lincoln's place.

The remaining objections against Mc. Clellan are true civilian objections. You have read of Napoleon falling like a thunderbolt &c., and you do not understand the real working of an Army. If Mc. Clellan had been let alone, it would have been said 20 years hence that Mc. Clellan hurled on Richmond, Mc. Dowell hurled his forces on the Rebel left, and you would have had the impression that it was like a boxing match. I really think that no one but a soldier can understand the movement of an Army, its size and the rapidity of motion possible is the great thing that it is impossible to explain to a citizen so that he will really allow for it.

Henry Wilson was here yesterday and came to our Head Quarters and drove Macy, & his signs of it move yet. Perhaps the storm has frustrated Hooker's plans. Perhaps it is in consequence of our failure at Charleston.

By the way, Col. Neill told me that the bridges in front of Porter were really put down and taken up again and piled up after being perfectly fitted. There were 3 or 4 of them. Col. Neill had charge of one. The enemy were constantly sending down flags of truce, merely to observe the back, and it was not safe to let them know where the bridges were really to be, when the attack was to be made. So the bridges were kept for instant use. In the night

of the battle of Fair Oaks, Col. Neill had two entire Regiments in the water up to their necks trying to put down his bridge but could not. Everything was swept away by the flood. By his measure the water rose one foot an hour.

I have read part of the report on the war, and wish to call your attention to one lie, the statement that Mc. Clellan was not at the battle of Fair Oaks, June 1st. I saw him and his staff ride along, and heard the tremendous cheers roll along the lines, and I remember we feared he would be hurt, because the enemy would fire where they heard the loudest cheers. He rode right to the front, some distance to the left of us.

By the way in this last review, not one cheer was given for the President or for Cooke. At Bolivar the President was cheered loudly, but the recent trials and reports have opened peoples' eyes. This sending home of Regiments to vote the Republican ticket, when thousands of others have come and suffered more and are left here still, has stirred up terrible indignation in the Army. I hope to live to see the day when Abraham Lincoln is brought to an account for all this, but at present we must do all we can to bring Jefferson Davis to an account.

Your affectionate brother

Henry.

Falmouth, Va. Saturday April 18th 1863.

My dear John.

I have just received yours of the 15th inclosing one from Mr Curtis. Very much obliged for all you have done and very glad I still have some money on hand. I suppose Willard's $60.- paid off everything. Do you mean I still have $10.50 after paying for my last visit, Shaw's, passes &c. &c. and my class photographs? I think you must not have paid for the photographs yet. I am very glad to tell you that the Paymaster arrived to-day and will pay me about $550.- in a day or two. So you need not send me any money in a letter. If you see Willard, please tell him I have destroyed his note for $60.- and owe==ed him $10.- and charged the $60.- to myself in the Fund accounts. I do not know what to make of Fitzgerald's absence. I cannot think he has deserted. Of late he has done remarkably well. If you see Riddle you might mention to him that Fitzgerald has been absent without leave for four days now. Perhaps he may have heard of him, or may know of some else coming on. However, if he does not come, you might send me the thin dress coat, trousers and shoes by Captain. I hear really nothing. I incline to think the movement is for the present given up. At all rate is to be altered. The Rebels know all about it now and are shouting to our pickets in a derisive manner about the 8 days rations they are

to carry just so they shouted to Burnside about being stuck in the mud. It would be obvious if Hooker also had been stopped by a storm. The river has now resumed its usual size. I hear that Reintzelman has moved down to Fortress with 30,000 men also that 40 loaded transports have gone down the river. I can get no positive news. I feel sure the move was to have been made last Monday or Tuesday. Some say the news from the South has changed matters. I have read the Committee Report with feelings of the deepest indignation. It is indeed a tissue of lies. I know about some things; the state of the Army at Antietam. Harrison's Landing &c., and I know the statements of the Committee are false. The misrepresentations are too numerous to mention. You observe they step out: "a number of" or "several" Generals testified in a certain way, and refuse mention who. One of the few that do name has come out and publicly stated that their report of his evidence is false (Governor Tod); so what may we conclude of the evidence of unnamed Generals? Then note the absurdity of saying the Army at Harrison's Landing could not march "three miles", when a day or two after it began a march to Antietam. Also see the silly implication that the "heights" of Harrison's Landing were not occupied till the day after the arrival of the Army (and works thrown up) and that the enemy came down and shelled us and might have destroyed us. There were no "heights" there. Not a hill 25 feet high anywhere, the idea of digging on the day we arrived was absurd, and besides,

where were the tools? What greater activity could there be than beginning the works the next day? Our troops were in position by the 5th but skirmishing took place, and the Committee seem to have forgotten the best proof of it, namely that Mc. Clellan attacked and took the entire rebel battery which did shell us. The day of the arrival there was indeed great confusion, for we had marched all night in the rain, and in 3 columns abreast, through mud and darkness, and Mc. Clellan told, says there were not probably more than 50,000 men then with their colors, but 2 days after there were probably 75,000. That day, morning of our arrival Mc. Clellan rode among the men and was received with cheers. It was that morning, you remember, he rated me about the action at Yorktown. This was July 2nd and we had a grand time July 4th. The more I read and the more I think, the more I believe in Mc. Clellan as the greatest General we have yet found, and a man of very great ability, and able to handle well a large Army. I do not claim for him the genius of a Napoleon. I merely say he is the best man we have, and he has been shamefully treated, and that he deserves the post of Commander in Chief. I think Halleck has proved himself a most miserable General. I want to see Mc. Clellan in Halleck's place, and a Secretary of War who will carry out fully the wishes of the commander in chief. That report will do great harm to Mc. Clellan among people at home, but it will do him good among military men, especially those who have been with him. If he is not now

embittered against the President and the Government he is not a mortal man. He must hate and despise them from the bottom of his heart.

We are still ready with our 3 days rations. Our horse will be very useful. Herbert desires to be remembered. So have Tatten, Abbott and others very often. To-day warm and pleasant - roads quite passable. Gen. Mason and Captains Robeson and Crafton (2d Cav) were over here to-day.

Our Corps is the only one that is not supplied with pack-mules. This may mean we are not to wind them. But, on the contrary, I have heard that the old 2d Corps is to be shoved ahead again, as of old. Couch is Senior Major General now. Summer now.

I hope you have read "Halleck's" report reviewed in the light of facts "also Peterson's pamphlet "Military Review of Campaigns" in Virginia, Maryland, &c. The first I have read and like very much. The 2d Herbert says is excellent. I intend to read it.

I believe I have nothing more to tell you.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Mad you are Clerk of Trinity Church.

Falmouth, Va. April 22d 1863.

My dear John.

I have no letter to answer from you. I received a most patriotic letter from Charles Grinnell yesterday. He is to visit Boston soon. I am sure you will look out for him. You remember how kind his father was to us. I intend to answer his letter very soon.

We have been paid off and I shall send home but $50.- to you because I have not many debts at home. I shall also send to you $30.- to be put in the Savings Bank for Theophilus Chase, private of my Company. Please send me back the receipt to give to him. The whole Regiment has subscribed largely to the relief of the Irish. So we have seen by the papers that Joseph is on a Committee to collect funds, several of the Companies have brought me their subscriptions and asked me to send it to him. I enclose a letter to Joseph about the matter.

Lieut Fitzgerald has deserted. Quartermasters Sergeant, Decker, has gone home on furlough and is to bring out several things for Mr. Coburn, and his brother (your Classmate) will call on you to take any small parcel or no, which he will give to Decker. You might then send out the trousers and exchange the boots or coat. Some of the papers might be sent by mail as newspapers.

enclose a draft on you for $10/.- $50.- for Chase. $2/.- for me, I
enclose to Joseph an order for $ 38.. of which he will pay you $ 23.-
which with your $2/.- makes ($ 23 + 2/ = $ 50..) Fifty.

No more. All the same.

affectionate brother
Henry.

Falmouth, Va. Wednesday
April 23d 1863.

Dear John.

I enclose another draft for $30.- for Mrs. Patrick O'Hara. Said not come in time for the first lot. Mr. John L. Roberts will call at your Office and get it for her. I have no letters to answer. Raining rain to-day. We hear reports that General Hooker has had a fall from his horse and is out of his mind. No signs of a move yet. Cowgill has gone home on leave. All well. I hope you will manage to send out my coat, shoes, &c. soon.

Please send me 3 or 4 of my photographs: old ones will do as well as any. Capt. Murphy wants one of you.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Falmouth, Va. April 25th 1863.
Saturday.

My dear John.

I enclose a letter which I should be much obliged to you to forward to Tom Curtis.

I have from undoubted authority something which I tell you and do not wish to have go further at present; viz: That it was and probable still is Hooker's plan to attack Fredericksburg again in front, to accomplish what Burnside failed to do. The recent storm stopped it but a few days ago, the bridges were actually moved down and ready to be thrown across in the same places again. In addition to this, movements were to be made on the right and left. All this I know to be true, whether or not the plan is now given up I cannot say, but think not. Another thing: Keogh has been asked if he will volunteer his Regiment to lead in a desperate assault and has of course accepted. So you may hear of another Fredericksburg any day and the 20th will probably be chosen. Do not of course speak of this, as it must not get round. Nothing would demoralize the Army and destroy the little confidence they have in Hooker, as to know that he intended to repeat Burnside's move. I certainly hope he will attempt no such mad plan; if he does it will probably be unsuccessful and certainly barren of important results and desperately bloody without

doubt. I feel at this thought Hooker will attempt it and redeem his boast that he could take Fredericksburg in 2 days. John Gray is here and dines with us, with him Capt. Wheaton. He looks very well. I shall keep this open till to morrow. for to days mail has gone.

Sunday 26th.

I received last evening yours of the 22d No. 13. If you have not yet sent the box of clothes &c., please put in a quire or two of medium sized ruled writing-paper, and a tooth wash. The latter might be sent by mail, and if the box has gone, but not the paper, no I dislike to write on paper that has been rolled up, I have enough for some time yet.

I heard from a Staff Officer last night that the projected move across the river here is given up. Couch told them so. Also that Wilcox's Corps moves to-morrow, and that some troops more to-day, supposed down the river, also that we occupy Warrenton and that Railroad and telegraphic communication from Washington there is in working order. McClellan and the President had a consultation with Hooker at the Creek, a few days ago. It is thought that our Corps will not be pushed ahead unless the crop right here, and as that plan is given up, I suppose we may wait.

I see in the papers accounts of the scarcity of beef in the Rebel Army. I do not think this is so in regard to the Army in front of us, for a large number of Cattle are grazing in the fields

close to the river and have been there all winter sometimes more and sometimes less. If the men were on ¼ lb. meat a day, these cattle would not be safe right on the picket line. I do not place much faith in newspaper accounts of Rebel starvation. There was plenty of food in Fredericksburg of every kind, except tea and Coffee which was scarce. Salt was plenty. The Rebels appear to be fitting up their works and increasing them. The river has now gone down to about its usual size. Weather fine.

I perfectly agree with you in regard to the principle of placing the ballot in the Country far above the regard for any one man &c. But we see, in my opinion, the first step to be taken to put down the Rebellion and thus end the war, is to displace Genl. Halleck who has almost ruined the Country, and call back Mc. Clellan who has twice saved the Country. Of course it is supposed that the President does not sympathize with the Commander in Chief again. Now if the Government put in any man, not known to be incapable (as Fremont for instance) in place of Halleck, I must of course support him but now, as Halleck has proved himself a miserable General, and Mc. Clellan proved himself the best we have got, why, I think the louder we call for Mc. Clellan the sooner we shall get him, and the sooner we shall beat the Rebels and besides if we get him soon we shall save many lives, which (judging from the past) the Government and Genl. Halleck

intend to waste this Summer.

I think we can support the Government faithfully, and yet see the faults which have been committed and call for their remedy. I would pay my tax cheerfully, lend money, enforce the draft, and in short do everything a thorough Abolitionist would do, but all the time I would vote and speak and do all I could to bring back Mc. Clellan to the Supreme command. I rather think you will agree with me in this following statement.

If Gen. Hooker should meet with an overwhelming defeat and the Rebels should take Washington, and Congress and the President escape to Philadelphia and the whole country be thrown into panic, then every eye would turn to Mc. Clellan, the President and Halleck would fall on their knees and beg him to save them. I feel sure of this, judging from the past. A great many people do not want Mc. Clellan back because they think it a "back-down" on the part of the Government. Every part, when we have made a fearful mistake, I say let us remedy it as soon as we can. If we have taken the wrong road, go back to the fork and take the other; do not try to shove through blindly, for the sake of saying you never turned back.

I hope these views will meet your approval.

Abbott's letter I thought was excellent. It seems to me that your objections to the Peninsular campaign are about answered now.

Your affectionate brother Henry.

Falmouth, Va. April 28th 1863.

My dear John.

Many happy returns of your birthday. I send with this a pipe I had made for you out of Laurel wood which grew on the bank of the river on our side and under our batteries. It was not made on the battle field, but it was where the shells were falling, and I thought you would like it as a sort of relic of Fredericksburg. The trefoil in front is the new distinguishing mark of our corps. Please accept it as a birthday present. It was carved by a man of the 10th Regiment, and he says the top will be apt to be burnt in lighting it, unless you have a little metal rim put inside. You need not send me any writing paper as I have got a supply.

The great movement has commenced, and our Division is to leave, to be left to cover this front for the present. We are under marching orders. I also hear that the real attack is to be made in front here and that the movements up the river are feints. I can hardly believe this: it seems like stark madness. You may hear exciting news very soon. I sometimes think the entire thing may be a great feint, but it is generally thought that we are on the eve of a great battle. To-day, it is cloudy and looks like a storm to-morrow. Shall perhaps be unable to write again for some days.

Your affectionate brother Henry

Falmouth, Va. April 29th 1863.

My dear John.

We are still here, and as yet there has been no grand battle. I heard there was some firing far on the right yesterday. 2 deserters came over this morning; they say they went to avoid the fighting. The Rebels know we are up to something. So far as I can make it out, the whole of the Army, except the 2d Corps, has gone down to make a grand attack on the enemy's right, and 4th Corps 2d Division are sent to our right to make a diversion, and one Division, ours, kept here to picket the front. So we stand a chance of not being in this time. Some firing was heard far on the left at about 4. 30 P.M. this morning, and it is rumored that Sedgwick has crossed there. The enemy have increased their pickets in front. Deserters came over this morning, I hear. I understand the troops are in good spirits, and I hope for success, but I do not see how it can be decisive, for the enemy have a prepared line of retreat, unless Hooker crosses so far below us to enable to get between them and Richmond, while the bulk of their force is gathered to resist the feigned attack on their left. Moreover this would be to give battle with a river in the rear, a dangerous thing. The utmost I expect is that Hooker will force the enemy to retire from this line. This morning is foggy, very favorable

for us to hide movements.

I have had no letters for three days. I hope I will get a little birthday present! Send me yesterday by mail. Do not leave off writing.

By the way, have you read Col. Grant's (14th) letter? Washington was safer than Wadsworth thought, and Mc. Clellan was right after all. Truth is great &c. Every day something turns up to prove that Mc. Clellan was right and everybody who differed from him wrong.

Your affectionate brother

Henry.

Falmouth, Va. April 30th 1863.

My dear John.

All is quiet this morning, which we hardly know how to explain. Sedgwick lay all day yesterday with 3 bridges across, and over 2 Divisions over. We have 3 Corps there and Reynolds has bridges below him. The enemy are moving up first, and still there is no attack. We have 3 Corps and some Cavalry are moving on the right. We cannot explain these movements. No appearance of our moving. The enemy are occupying the rifle pits in front of us in considerable force.

We have just heard that John Putnam is striving hard for the Colonelcy of the Regiment and Riddle has written a most insulting letter to Macy, because Macy has nominated Putnam for the next Captaincy instead of him. Macy has been most strongly recommended for Colonel by Col. Hall, Lieut. Gibbon, Gen. Lovell and Gen. Meagher, and how Putnam can have the face to do for it, I cannot see. Putnam is utterly incapable of taking the Regiment physically, mentally and morally. He is a notorious drunkard, and has been living in the Regiment for 18 months doing no duty, taking a much larger pay than any Officer in the field, and keeping down his better and those who have fairly won promotion. And this has been tolerated because everyone pitied Putnam for the loss of his arm.

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Gilman has frequently promised to resign and has failed disappointed, by getting no invalid on the Recruiting service, but as that would be to see his men stop and to leave himself from the consideration he deserves, he is now trying to get promoted over his senior officer Macy. Remember Gilman has seen no service whatever having been wounded in the skirmishing shortly before the battle of Ball's Bluff and for the last 18 months has done nothing but loaf about barrooms and brothels and spend the money he has no honorable right to. It is an insult to the Regiment to promote either, but as he is reported to be on the verge of the grave this will probably be a little moment. We must not let compassion for a wounded man blind our eyes to the real rights of a Regiment. Dreher is an utterly incompetent Officer. When he commanded the Regiment in line of the enemy on the march from Harpers Ferry, when we were actually in line of battle and loaded and primed and expecting a battle, he got drunk and was incapable of using the small talent he possessed and when we got to Falmouth he and Capt. Shepard were superseded by Macy, by order of Genl. Howard Commanding Division, on the ground that they were utterly incompetent. Dreher then resigned on Surgeons Certificate of Mental disability. We then went into the battle of Fredericksburg, Macy commanding, over the heads of his two incompetent superiors, and there Macy showed that he was fully equal to his post, and received the public thanks of Col. Hall and Capt.

Howard. Howard and Decker were both wounded. Decker's resignation was in the meantime accepted and he was honorably discharged the service. The Governor immediately promoted him to Major and subsequently to Lieut. Colonel, and now, I understand, to Colonel. There is nothing to excuse this. Gov. Andrew was most fully informed of Decker's incapacity. I myself saw the medical letter Dr. Howard wrote to him, and the Governor knew that before he was last wounded he was incompetent in the opinion of his superiors in rank here. He was promoted then when both physically and mentally incompetent, and judged so by the highest medical and military authorities. You probably know that he was promoted in accordance with a promise given to the German Abolition Club of which he was a member, who appealed publicly to the Governor.

Howard, I say no more about him because he can hardly be held responsible, being half crazy and lying at death's door. The Governor, however, had small excuse after his promises to Macy.

But for Putnam I have no words strong enough. It is no matter whether he succeeds or not, he has lost all claim to be considered a man of honor or a gentleman (in the lowest meaning of the word) and will be cut by every Officer here. He will not be spoken to or written to except as his military rank requires and will be treated henceforward as a dishonorable man deserved.

Go to your work Riddle, be can be led by any one and

we feel more with than anything else for him. He wrote a most insulting letter to Aiken. He has seen more service than Putnam for he was at Fort Edward, and he has done a great deal of recruiting but he is a most miserable Officer, utterly incapable of commanding a Company, and physically unable to bear the privations of a soldier's life. According to strict rules both these men should have been dismissed long ago. If either dare to come out, they will be court-martialled, no doubt, but they probably will do no such thing. They only want to ensure a longer period of lazy ease and debauchery, at the expense of the brave Officers who endure the hardships and face the danger, on whose pay they live.

I have written thus fully that you may see the exact state of the case. There is a time when men must speak for themselves.

I beg you will spread abroad these opinions as widely as you can, and by every means, not as my opinions, but as the opinions of every Officer here. And the matter be shown up as it is.

Please tell Father how it stands, and ask every one if they want to see the old 21st disgraced by an ignorant old crazy Dutchman for its Colonel.

Please write to me what you hear of the matter and what the general opinion is. You may think I speak too strongly but I assure you all is true and we feel strongly about such things out here, where we are powerless to help ourselves, and depend on

our friends at home. Remember, a Regiment is not a Chelsea Hospital for broken down Soldiers but that men's lives and the fate of battles are too important to be trusted to incompetent hands, and believe that there is such a thing as earning promotion in battle.

I earnestly hope that no injustice will be done and that the Governor will fully attend to the matter and do the right thing; and I want all to know what is the opinion of the Officers of the 2d Regiment now in the field, a body of men whose reputation for Courage and honor is high enough to demand that their opinions be respected.

All quiet now. No letters from home for 14 days.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Falmouth Va. May 1st 1863

9. o'clock P.M.

My dear John.

Orders to be ready to march at daylight this morning, came last night, and we are all ready, wagons loaded and are waiting orders. The enemy's pickets still occupy the front, and I suppose we shall be relieved before starting. Our Regiment goes on guard and picket here to-day. Genl. Howard sent down a very encouraging order yesterday. He evidently thinks they may evacuate. We go to join our Corps which has crossed above. Sedgwick with 3 Corps is below, and has (I hear) 5 bridges over, evidently for a diversion. Yesterday 3 P.M. there was a good deal of Artillery firing, that we could see the Rebel guns flash from the hills here. None of us know anything of the movements contemplated, but look forward to a rather quick march, to gain up with our Corps.

I have received no letters from home. I send a poem which which was sent across by the Rebel pickets here, a few weeks ago. I thought you might like to see it.

All well.

Your affectionate brother

Henry.

May 2nd 1863 9 A.M.
Falmouth.

Dear John.

We have not moved yet. Some firing on right and left this morning. All quiet now. It seems likely that we shall remain here, but we are ready to march at a moment's notice. Rebels still in front. It is thought there must be a great battle to-day, perhaps the Rebels will evacuate.

I have received safely the coat, pants and shoes. Shoes fit perfectly. I sent you with the other money $80.- to put in the Boston Savings Bank for private Theophilus Shaw of my Company. Please put in $20.- more making $100.-, for he has given me the other $20.-. Then please send me some kind of certificate to give him, to show that he has $100.- there. I have received no letters yet. I am a little anxious to hear if the money and home. I sent Joseph $26.- in a letter for the Irish Fund.

As to our movements, I merely know that we are almost in the enemy's rear, and that they must leave or come out and fight with the danger of Sedgwick's 75000 men breaking through and coming in on the rear. We have no hold Culpeper but probably Gordonsville. Also that Sedgwick lost 2 guns yesterday. We shall no doubt stay here, and perhaps come up at the decisive moment.

Well now. We took a lot of prisoners yesterday. There is a story about a telegraph under the river having been discovered near the Brick Church in the papers. It is all untrue, not the slightest foundation for it. The Church is close to my Quarters and is situated in the 9th Michigan. All quiet now, beautiful weather.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Falmouth, Va. Tuesday May 5th
10½ A.M. 1863.

My dear Father.

We are back at our old quarters again safe and well. After crossing the river on Sunday, we assisted in taking the works here, and advanced 2 miles beyond Fredericksburg driving the enemy. Sedgwick pushed on and our Brigade with a few of the 6th Corps went back to the city, supposing all was well and the great battle won. To our infinite surprise the enemy rushed in from the left and retook the entire lines on Monday morning. The pickets rushed in and for a few moments we had a wild time of it, but our left moved out and held the town and repulsed the enemy. I never prayed so anxious and trying a time, our line was weak and the men scattered. Then was a most desperate assault from the further side in the afternoon and again the Rebels were driven out and their centre pierced by Sedgwick; but they held the heights on their right, and Sedgwick was at last repulsed. This morning at daybreak we withdrew from the town our left covering the retreat, and crossing last. Altogether we have only lost 2 Officers and 50 men, but the whole 3 days have been far more trying than any battle we were ever in before. Colonel and Murphy are wounded, not dangerously, I hear. On the right, I hear, the fighting had

been awful beyond description, and the number of killed and w. [illegible] on both sides passeth terrific. I can learn no particulars. I fear we are retreating and have been out-generalled; but our men fought splendidly and we have probably given the Enemy a terrible loss. We have taken guns &c, and, I fear, lost some.

You will probably learn particulars sooner than I. I fear we have met with an awful repulse – and that the Army is almost cut to pieces. However the enemy are as badly off. I cannot well see how our Regiment suffered so little. Our escapes were wonderful. We have done most trying duties which nothing but veteran troops could have done, and if we have not been so badly cut up as others we have that to be thankful for.

Herbert all well. None of my Company hurt.

Your affectionate Son

Henry.

Falmouth, Va. May 6th 1863

1 P.M.

My dear John.

I have written 2 or 3 letters to Father telling him of my safety and that of the Regiment. The grand Army of the Potomac is now back again on its old ground. It is utterly worn out, dreadfully cut up and much disheartened, with a great lot of guns, small arms accoutrements and leaving most of the dead and wounded in the hands of the enemy. I do not expect the enemy will follow us up, and think we can hold on here against all they can do. I will not say more about the General operations, but tell you what we have done, merely asking you what you think of "Fighting Joe", and whether the "people" are yet so fascinated with blood that they will be willing to recall Mc. Clellan and save the Country yet.

We were ordered to march at midnight of Saturday, and we halted at the "Lacy House", the same old place, while they attempted to put down the bridge. The Engineers were however driven off by the enemy and we lay there till about 6 A.M. of Sunday, when Genl. Sedgwick penetrated the town from the other side (he had crossed below 3 or 4 days before) and came out opposite our bridge and drove off the very small body of Rebels. Genl. Sedgwick

himself rode through and rushed to this side in a boat. We then finished the bridge and marched one platoon up the very same street. After some time we were moved far to the right of the town and engaged the attention of the enemy while Sedgwick assaulted on the left. We were here brought under a heavy shell fire and Johnson and Murphy were wounded. I, with Company F, went out as Skirmishers in advance and finally lay close to the canal. We could then see everything and hear the Rebels talking. We witnessed the assault and it was a very exciting scene. At first our men were forced back and the Rebels howled with joy, and began to Skirmish us. But in a few moments the line of bayonets moved straight on the Rebs and carried the heights and the Rebels fell back making still a strong resistance. We were drawn in and all the troops on the right of the town rushed forward and advanced on the enemy who now opened fire from the ridge, but were driven off and pursued by Sedgwick. We were then ordered back to the town, thinking the day was won and that we had gained the greatest victory of the war. We staid that night on the left of the city, and part of the Regiment picketed on the left, where the Rebels appeared to have come here. It seems that Sedgwick drove right on and united with Cooke and that these heights were left unguarded. At any rate at about 4 O'clock next morning the pickets on the Railroad on the left suddenly rushed in with the enemy's bullets flying

after them, and at the same time they poured on to the heights from the left and we were carried out instantly as skirmishers on the left. My Company was ordered to hold the Railroad, and before long we had covered the city and had begun to prepare rifle pits. City our Brigade of about 1500 men (500 of whom were Pennsylvania Dutch Cowards and sure to run) held the city from end to end, a line of 5 miles, a mere thin line of skirmishers. The enemy having pulled the entire works advanced a line of skirmishers on us and we repulsed them and they ran back and did not attack again. I never knowing our own weakness we had an exceedingly anxious time and thought every preparation to repulse the enemy should they come on again. In the afternoon Sedgwick attacked them from the other side, and after a terrible fight forced their centre, and they began to run away from the works and our guns opened on them from our side of the river, and it seemed as if we were certain of victorious, but it was not so, and the sun went down with terrible loss on Sedgwick's left where he was driven back a long way. Early on the morning of the next day, in a thick fog we withdrew and passed over the same bridge, our Regiment covering the passage and crossing last. After a short delay we returned to our old Quarters, where we are now. Last night there was very heavy rain, and the river rose several feet and is still very high with a prospect of more rain.

Cavalry and Artillery have been passing all day. I hear the Army has all crossed safely above, where there was heavy firing this morning. It is said the Rebels are to cross above us, but the freshet will no doubt hinder them. I do not know what to expect now, for I do not know how badly we are defeated, but it looks something like a retreat from this line. Perhaps Washington is endangered.

I will not attempt any remarks, but I think the Upon is as plain as to the whole country.

Everywhere we hear of the shameful cowardice of the 11th Corps. I never had any opinion of them. I am fully convinced that it takes Anglo-Saxons to fight these Anglo-Saxon Rebels. Dutchmen and Negroes will not do.

As to the oft repeated statement of Rebel starvation &c., I know from the prisoners that their rations are short, especially forage, but they look generally well and strong, and are comfortably clad and well armed. I dare say, we shall fall back on Rapid Creek and Washington.

I hear the other two Divisions of our Corps behaved well. Can learn nothing about friends. Whittier all right. Howard lost his other arm. Berry killed. Couch slightly wounded.

Shall write again as soon as I can.

Your affectionate brother

Henry.

Falmouth, Va. May 6th 1863.
6 P.M.

Dear Pa...

I wrote you a long account of our doings this morning. I have just heard that Temple is killed. He fell shot through the breast in our advance over the ground lost by the cowardly 11th Corps.

I hear we are not so badly repulsed as I had thought. The 1st Corps hardly lost anybody. Fitzgerald has just come, and I have the watch, socks, papers and Herbetto things all right. I have just received your letter acknowledging the receipt of the pipe. I am very glad it pleases me. The Cent &c. by Sergeant Barker came all right.

I do not remember whether I ever acknowledged the receipt of Ma's letter of the 28th about the watch, yours of the 29th and Mary Ann's of the 2nd. Please thank all. I also received one of my photographs, and one of mine for Murphy, for which he is much obliged. I have not yet heard of the safe arrival of the box containing my old watch &c. nor of the letter to Joseph containing $26.- in money for the Irish fund, in addition to that sent by draft. I hope all have gone safely.

All quiet now. I hear we may move early to-morrow, probably to take the picket or guard duty off some more tired Regiments. I can learn nothing of the intended movements. The Army

to, I believe, considered "safe." The Regiment has been again outraged by the promotion of Lieut. Colonel Revere, Capt. Shepard and Riddle. If ever a man deserved the Colonelcy that man is Macy. Col Revere really left the Regiment was with it but 4 months in the field and is of course not to be mentioned in opposition to Macy who has done so nobly and commanded it so well in 3 battles. Besides, Macy was recommended by every Superior Officer including Hooker. It is really fearfully discouraging to go on doing one's duty, and risking one's life and see this all disregarded and such incapables as Shepard and Riddle promoted; instead of us who have done the work and born the hardship. Revere I know, to be such an honorable man that I feel sure, when he understands the thing, he will not stand in Macy's way. Riddle is a miserably low fellow and by rights should have been dismissed under the 60 days order. You Indiana are Macy the very fairest promises, and now see how he treats him and the Regiment.

You can hardly conceive of a more ignorant and self conceited man than Shepard, a man who has been actually superseded in the field for total incapacity, and he being an Old McClellan man and a violent Radical is made Major!

I wish a pair of boots from Rice and I enclose a description therefor, which I shall be much obliged to you to give to Rice and see that they are made properly and sent to me at

Communicate.

In haste

Affectionately,
Chr Kerry.

Falmouth, Va. May 8th 1863.

9th A.C.

My dear Father

I received last night one of the 4th. I have only received two boxes, one (which arrived safely) contained some things for Herbert and was accompanied by one Buffalo; and the other containing my silver watch and some boots for Holmes. I suppose both these boxes have come. If so please tell me. Please tell me if the drafts are all right, if Mrs. A's money has been paid to Mr. Roberts and the (in all) $100. put in the bank for Theophilus Chase. Theophilus was wounded at Fair Oaks May 31st but is now here, and well. I hope Joseph's Irish money came safely. Besides the draft, I sent him $20.- in a letter. Also sent him a draft from Corporal White from which he was to pay you $23.- Do not forget to send me some kind of receipt to give to Chase. Peter Wilkins owes $30.- to the Regimental Fund of which I am treasurer. I have asked him to pay it to you and if he does, please keep it to my credit, and let me know, and I will pay the $30.- to the fund here.

As soon as all these money matters are settled and my bills paid, and it is perfectly convenient to you, please let me know how much I still have in your hands, if any.

It was indeed very kind of you to send me such a splendid watch. I am greatly attached to him. I have no doubt that the watch I sent home will keep excellent time when not exposed to the hardships of war. If worn on the person or hung up in a room I think it will go perfectly well.

Glo to the Regiment. Shepard's and Riddle's promotions are infamous. Riddle has made quantities of money by his enlisting and receiving private money from Towns anxious to get his men for the war, and besides this his full pay and a large commutation for quarters fuel &c. &c. Abbott has written him a letter which will, I think, shame him, if he has any sense of shame.

I am also very much astonished at the way you look upon Lieut. Colonel Revere's appointment. He left the Regiment in August, so he and every one else supposed for ever, and Dreher was soon after made Major in his place. He never commanded the Regiment and has only been with it from its formation till October 21st 1861 (Ball's Bluff) and from May till August in all about 5 months. And now he has discovered that by his omitting to have himself mustered out (as he should have done) he has been technically Major all the time and therefore Dreher and Macy never were Majors. And, since Macy was regularly mustered out as Captain and mustered in as Major, and since this mustering in was invalid, Macy is now a Citizen, holds no Office, but

through his Aide's reasons in reception Governor Andrew has Lindsley made Macy Lieut. Colonel. Now I say and the whole Regiment says that all this is dishonorable, and therefore we believe Revere was unacquainted with the facts, or blinded, or he never would have done it. Yet, he has written a letter to Macy explaining the matter as above and assuring Macy he shall "retain his position" &c. It seems to us all that Revere left the Regiment and forfeited all claims to his place in it, by accepting a higher rank and pay out of it. Since then Macy has commanded us in 3 terrible battles and done them most nobly and received the praise of his superiors and has fairly earned and fought up to the position of Colonel. Is an Officer to be allowed to leave a Regiment and take higher pay and rank and have an easy time on a staff, and 9 months afterwards come back and take promotion over those who have stuck by through hardships and danger and risked their lives, and lost more than one half their men by wounds and death? I consider it outrageous, and feel sure Col. Revere has not known what he did. Besides, Macy is recommended in the highest terms by Col. Hall, Genl. Gibbon, Couch and Cooke, and what higher reference can there be?

It is high time that the principle is recognized that the men who really do the work, who brave the danger and suffer the hardships should receive the promotion. And Revere stuck by the Regiment we should have rejoiced to see him Colonel, although I do not think he would ever have made a first-rate Officer, because he had had

as experience as a Company Officer. But now Mac fairly deserves it, and to take advantage of a legal technicality to oust such an Officer who has fairly won his position is a thing I cannot think Col. Revere capable of.

As to movements, we hear that another attack is to be made. But I do not believe it in the least. My opinion is that covered by one or two feints of crossing, the Army will fall back part to Cloquia Creek and part to Warrenton Centreville and Washington, and there remain till our ranks are filled by conscripts, or until a disgraceful peace is made. Lincoln, they say, is here, but does not show himself much. We are not to find out how much of this we owe to him.

Have you read Franklin's splendid defense? What do you now think of poor old weak Burnside? What of the Committee & Pope? What of the Government which puts aside such men as Franklin, Smith and Porter?

The cry now for McClellan is irresistible; without him there is nothing but disaster ahead. The Army won't bear needless slaughtering much longer, and unless a change is soon made I solemnly declare you that we are hastening fast to a military despotism and that the outraged Army will be forced to it. I can only hope for the best.

Your affectionate brother

Harry.

P.S. Ord. Gibbon commands our Division now.

Falmouth Va., Sunday.
May 10th 1863 9 a.m.

My dear father.

I received last night yours of the 6th. I am very glad all the boxes and drafts I sent home have arrived safely. I hope we will see a great deal of Charley Grinnell. I wrote to him not long ago and directed to Boston.

I have read some of the newspaper accounts and find them wrong as usual, especially in two things; they think the heights of Fredericksburg were taken from Sedgwick after a fight, when in fact there was no force there and the enemy made and left in. The only firing was a very little musketry with the pickets just to the left of the town. They had seen the ending in the works 20 minutes before we could believe it was anything but a part of our force. They wore our uniforms so far as we could see. The other mistake is that the first Corps were with Hooker. They came too late for his great battle, and left too soon to be of use in holding the heights Sedgwick had taken.

I have seen a Lt. Mason who was in the 3d Corps. He tells me the fighting was awful and most bloody. His commanding Officer was killed, and his battery lost about 30 men and 40 horses. Reby's regular battery lost 60 men and 70 horses, yet both saved all their guns. The battle was fearfully confused. To show you this:

Phil's battery captured by Gen. Jackson's aides both of whom rode up thinking it was a confederate battery and began to give directions. This shows how surrounded our men were. Phil. says the 11th Corps panic was terrible. The Corps has lost 3000 men, and this almost all from two Divisions! The entire loss is now estimated at 18,000 men! Gen. Lee told one of our Officers that he considered it the greatest victory of the war and there is no use of denying our total repulse. You know Hooker was reported wounded. He was stunned by a shell and was insensible for some time, and Couch commanded. I now hear that Couch was bringing order out of confusion and had brought two Corps almost into action and in fact seemed on the point of repulsing the Rebels finely, when Hooker revived and took command and both still a little flustered, ordered our whole line ½ mile back. They say Couch was doing splendidly. I give the story for what it is worth. There is no doubt that we have met with an awful defeat and that it was caused principally by the superior generalship of Lee. Our loss is awful and the Army is disheartened and have lost all confidence in Hooker. There is one cry from one end of the Army to the other. There is but one cry: "Mc. Clellan and an end to useless butchery".

I hear it reported that Hooker intends to attack again! But as I do not believe he is a madman I place not the slightest confidence in the report.

[illegible] three years men are springing fast. I do not believe many will reenlist. The old Veteran Regiments are reduced to skeletons. God grant that this additional 15,000 maimed and murdered men will open the eyes of the President and his counsellors and put an end while there is any one to save. I hear no cries for peace, no desire to give it up, only a cry for a General who can lead us to victory, for the only General who can and ought.

I don't know that success is possible now. I am not sure that even under Mc. Clellan Armies could be raised large enough and good enough to crush the Rebellion, but I want to see the experiment tried. No signs of a move.

Your affectionate brother
Kenny.

Falmouth Va.

May 12th 1863.

My dear Wm.

I have received no letter for the last 2 days. All is quiet here; everything just as before: weather very hot. I hear no news whatever. Col. Revere has come and and taken command. I can know how we all felt about his coming over Macy. Abbott wrote to him and explained exactly the state of the case, but he did not receive the letter and came out not expecting anything of the kind. He was shown a copy of the letter here, and gave the subject his fullest consideration and took advice of Genl. Sedgwick and Couch. In the meantime it was a course talked over by the Officers and the question of the probable action of the Governor in case of Revere resigning &c. taken up, and the fact of Revere being ordered to this Regiment &c., and it was generally thought that in case Revere should resign Governor Andrew would be made angry against the Regiment and would probably not promote Macy, but Shepard or Putnam, or some such man, and that then we should be worse off. Decided this, we all know what a man Revere is, a man of the noblest character, and an honor to any Regiment. Thinking this all over then, and while Col. Revere was considering the matter, Macy determined to waive all claim and accept the Lieutenant Colonelcy under Revere, and so the matter is arranged.

Still I am sorry to say that Col. Revere's opinion is that he has a right to the place which we all think really belongs to Maj. Wm. Mary however has waived his claim & it is not for us to dispute about it and I am glad all is settled harmoniously. I did & can not but be impressed with the injustice of allowing an Officer to leave a Regiment for promotion and an easy time; and let the men fight through and raise the Regiment to a high state of discipline &c., and then for him to come back and reap the advantages he did not earn. Why should not Crandell come back when his 9 months are up & take promotion over Abbott and McInnes? There is not a decent Officer here who has not had offers (like my Provost Marshalship) of situations of ease and safety, and these we have refused, and now the principle is to be established that a man can leave the Regiment, shirk all battles and dangers, and then come back to promotion.

Col. Revere is a noble man, actuated by the highest motives, but the principle is the thing; and as far as I see, nothing can prevent Crandell, Bartlett, Putnam, Schmidt and Pierson from returning to the Regiment and taking promotion over all of us who have fought the battles and really made the Regiment what it is. I am very sorry that Col. Revere ever left us, but am also very sorry that so bad a principle should be established by means of a man of such high character. It is enough to disgust any Officer to see such ignorance and partiality at home & such indifference toward the men who

are laying down their lives out here.

As to the State of the Army, &c., I have nothing to say. I see no signs of a change, no hope for anything. Nothing but ignorance and party prejudice everywhere. I think things never looked worse than they do now.

Your affectionate brother

Henry.

Falmouth, Va. May 30th 1863.

My dear John.

I enclose a draft for $35.: the receipt for the other $15.- I sent before & wrote to you about it. I have received yours of the 2nd inst. Will send Mary a photograph as soon as I can get it. I send you that I Sample and Theo which please have put among my other military photographs. Please thank Henry Ellis for it, if you see him.

All quiet, no signs of a move. Very dusty, signs of rain. We had a Division review yesterday.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Falmouth, Va. June 11th 1863.

My dear John.

I have no letters from home to answer. Will you please look over the Company papers I sent to you some months ago, and see if there are any relating to "Company Savings", that is: Lists of different amounts of pork, beef, rice, bread &c. saved by the Company and certified to by the Company Commander and the Quartermaster or Commissary. Also any papers relating to prisoners of war confined in Richmond in July 1862. If you find any of either of these, please send them on to me, by mail, if there are but few, and if many, by Express. I would also like you to send on my brown linen riding-pants (at stable) and 3 pairs nice white cotton (or some kind of thread) gloves, size 6 Gentleman's 3. Also one pair leather gauntlets, dark color, not very thick and with cuffs not stiff, and of best quality. I find our horse much improved, and I ride quite often. McCabe and I think of selling him and getting mate a good horse, in case we can make good arrangements for keeping him.

There is no news.

Your affectionate brother

Harry.

Falmouth, Va. June 5th 1863.

My dear John.

I received your letter of the 1st last evening. I am very sorry that your business plans should be interfered with by Joseph's great ignorance of his own character or rather of his own business manners.

I had quite a talk with Mr. Trask when I was in New-York, and he seemed to think the firm was badly organized to conduct the business it did. He thinks William does little good in London, and ought to be in Saint Petersburg, and that the headquarters of the firm should be by all means in New-York. He thinks the power is too scattered now. He would be glad to have one with him, but thinks Boston a poor place to learn a large business in. I should like to have you talk with him very much. Still, as you say, it would be foolish for you to try to enter the firm in opposition to Joseph. So, for aught I see, the matter must be indefinitely postponed. I am very glad the business promises so well for the future. I have no news to tell you of importance. A large part of the Army has moved to the right including the Artillery reserve. There seems to be some apprehension of an attack. I do not expect it, but expect even to have a Burnside defeat and Rosecrans big [illegible] to fall back. It is a position. I think it is a bad one, useless for offence and not sufficiently covering Washington and Maryland. However, it=

=though we should be prepared for every one!, I do not anticipate another invasion of Maryland. We hear rumors of Lee's removal, but nothing definite. I send you a piece which Abbott cut from the 'Herald' especially for you. Also an autograph of the famous Dekay who witnessed against Genl. Porter. The absurdity and vanity of the man is shown as well by his writing as by reading the words: "obedient servant". His testimony is probably better than Genl. Sykes' on a question of Government transfers but only Scott would think it important in military matters.

I left off here to take a ride with Abbott, and on returning find orders have come to be ready to move at very short notice, rations, ammunition &c. to be ready. I rather think it is only a precaution, but possibly we may move up a little on the right. I hardly think we intend to abandon this position, though I think it would be better to do so. I also find I am appointed Recorder of a Board to examine Officers of the Corps.

I have received a letter from Henry Burckmyer which I shall answer before long. It is of course rather a curious letter. I am expecting the boxes by Express to-day and hope they will not come if we are to make a hasty move.

In my humble opinion the enemy are fearing Hooker to keep him quiet while they concentrate on Burnside. I have little else to tell you. Col. Revere makes a very poor Officer, is dreadfully

ignorant and yet thinks he knows everything. He makes a laughing stock of himself before every one in his attempts at drill, and thinks it is the fault of the Regiment. I hope he will have nothing to do if we go into action for he has no idea at all of military movements, and nothing breaks up a Regiment like mistakes in movements under fire.

All well. We the beautiful and tonic dusty.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Falmouth, Va. June 9th 1863.

My Dear John.

Yours June 2= received. Sorry the $15.- draft miscd. Will send another soon. It was signed by Corporal White of my Company.

All quiet here. Sedgwick is over below the city. All quiet here. Have no doubt this is only a demonstration.

Boots all right. Boots excellent fit. Orange Marmelade a little touched. Everything else in good order.

In haste

Affectionately
Henry.

Enclosed letter for Mary Ann.

Dec 5th 1863

Dear John.

I enclose a second order from Wilder for Fifteen Dollars. If you draw this you will have $100.- from me, enough, I suppose, to pay off everything, which please do. All quiet to-day. Sedgwick has about 5000 men over, and is, I hear, fortifying himself. Rebels in strong force in front of him, but they keep close. I feel sure this is only a feint, and I dare say it is to cover a move back of our Army. Couch has returned all well. Weather remarkably mild for the season. I have asked Mr. Frost to get some Ale &c. for our mess, and he will send the bill to you. Please pay it and tell me how much it is. Hooker came down to see Sedgwick the other day and on being told that the Rebels were in force on the heights and might open on our forces at any moment, replied that they were too damned cowards to do it. Sedgwick told him he supposed that if they had been cowards they would not have given him a severe defeat, few weeks ago. Hooker is as much of a boaster as ever, and more despised than ever.

On the whole I think this army will fall back this month.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Falmouth, Va. June 11th 1863.

My dear Sir.

(Enclosed) I send herewith about a month ago I sent a parcel marked "Papers relating to the Regimental Fund". I know there is an envelope (probably marked: "Receipts to Voucher 5") but perhaps it may be in some other voucher) which contains the Regimental Bakery Roll for October 1862 where you will find a sum of money is due to private Bruno Fiesler, Company B. for extra-work connected with the Bakery. This is to the best of my recollection not paid and therefore not receipted for on the Roll, and if so I wish you would pay the amount to the said Fiesler or whoever may call for him who will call at your Office, and get his receipt for the same on the said Bakery Roll, and charge the amount to me, and let me know when you have done this, and how much the amount is. Also, to oblige Dr. Foloam, I have given him an order on you for $4.- payable to this Bruno Fiesler, for which he has paid me $5.- I shall be much obliged to you to attend to this matter, and it will be a great kindness to Fiesler, who is home sick.

I have little news. Sedgwick is still across and has slightly extended himself. There is occasional shelling. Couch is relieved and ordered to report to Pennsylvania. Another of our best men gone to join Mc Clellan Franklin 4th Smith, McDowell and the rest of them

able soldier. Sedgwick and Reynolds both able men will probably soon follow. Then the Rebels and the Sick Press will have full swing and the destruction of the Army of the Potomac will be near.

I am glad to see a gleam of sense in the revocation of Burnside's order. What a miserable, low tool of an arbitrary Government he is. and covers it all over with pious conscientiousness! What a complete humbug such men are!

I often ask myself how much farther we are going before a crash comes and how much longer the people and the Army are going to stand the continuance of insult and violation of their rights? I do not think I am getting traitorous. I believe it to be our duty to bear everything in the Army, and if we are led to destruction by ignorant and incompetent men, why, we must go and take our chances but there is a fearful responsibility somewhere.

The weather here is not very hot, but very dry. We need rain very much. The river is very low. I have received no letters for two days. Please send me in a letter a pair of dark colored thread gloves.

All well. No prospect of a move. Macy will send his photograph very soon. Send yours for him.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Letter for Mother enclosed.

Sunday, June 14th, 1863
[illegible] P.M.

My dear [illegible].

We are certainly falling back from this position. Sedgwick was to have returned last night and we expect to leave to-night and cover the movement. All sick and baggage have gone to the rear.

Yesterday afternoon and evening there was a very heavy shower, and the troublesome dust is at last laid; now it is cloudy and looks like more rain.

I hear the Rebels are fast moving up towards Bull Run.

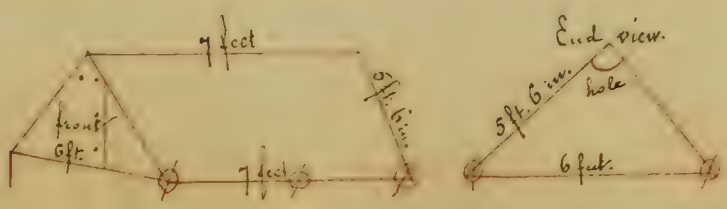
All well.

Affectionately
Henry.

Thoroughfare Gap, Va. Tuesday
June 23d 1863 3 P.M.

My dear Mother,

We have been perfectly quiet here and seen nothing of the enemy. Our Cavalry pickets were however driven in by Rebel Cavalry day before yesterday, on the new Baltimore road, but I now hear we occupy Manassas Gap and our communications are open with Centreville. We have been completely isolated, our pickets being in a circle and no communication whatever. I cannot see the object of pushing out this Corps so far and in such an exposed way. No one knows anything of our movements or intentions, or of that of the enemy. I find the light tent you had made for me is much too weak to stand the campaign, and would be very much obliged to you to get me another one made of strong linen. White is the best color but if brown linen is stronger better get it. Of course it must be of the strongest & coarsest material but light. I would like the tent to be longer but no higher than the last of the following dimensions. Each side to be 7 feet by 5 ft. 6 inches. The ends to be 6 feet wide at bottom, thus:



I should like the back to be whole, one piece with the sides and the front to be divided like the back of the other tent. The front to button not lie and to flap over like a double breasted coat and both sets of buttons to button through. There must be a small hole for the ridge pole. Eyelets at ends of course, and loops all like the last tent. If the linen is strong (as it should be) there is no need of a strip under the ridge pole. Five loops on each side and one at each end, as in the drawing. The principal use of the tent is to shed rain, so the material must be capable of being stretched quite tight. I should also like a piece of light and strong bamboo cane for a ridge pole, 8 feet long. I can carry it easily on the horse. Or had better roll the tent round the pole and do it up with brown paper, and send it by Express, Lieut. Ropes. 2d Mass. to be printed on the tent.

I think this last trial will succeed and shall be much obliged to you to see to it for me. Whenever you send anything by Express, please send 5 lbs. best coffee and 2 lbs. tea, & No Sugar. The Commissary coffee is very bad.

Weather fine and cool.

Your affectionate brother
Henry.

Have received no mail for 3 days.

Edwards Ferry near Poolesville
Va. June 26th Friday 2 P.M.

My dear John.

The pickets at Harrison's Gap were attacked by a force of Rebel Cavalry supported by a small body of Infantry at an early hour yesterday morning, and I am sorry to say our Cavalry were driven in in confusion, and about 2 Calvadmen captured. We (we should say) were all engaged and we were under arms and loaded at about 6 o'clock the enemy were repulsed and we received orders to move and at 9. 30 marched out of the Gap, and our Division remained to cover the retreat and our very large train. We had quite a skirmish at Snicker's Gap with the enemy's light Artillery and Cavalry, and had 2 caissons smashed and 1 man Killed and 9 wounded, all of the 6th Maine, close behind us. Our Artillery went into position and drove them off. We then continued our march without molestation, and after a very tiresome tramp in a pouring rain we arrived at Snicker's Gap, 18 miles, at about 5 P.M. Here we rested for the night and this morning marched here, 12 miles also in a heavy rain, which has now ceased, however. We are now resting on the banks of the Potomac right opposite our old camp Benton, and waiting for the teams to pass the Pontoon Bridge. I hear the Head Quarters of the Army are at Poolesville, that

we are the nearest force and that Sedgwick is just before us. From all I can learn I think the Rebels are not in full force in Maryland, and that Lee is near Winchester, and that after drawing us all up here, he will leave Ewell or somebody to draw off [illegible] from Maryland with large quantities of supplies. & will make a demonstration on Centreville and Alexandria, and thus keep us running about while 40 or 50 000 can fall on Burnside or succor Johnston. However, this is all conjecture, and Peanuts hope he may scare the President enough to make him recall the old Defenders of Maryland.

All well. Please get two linen tents, one for Herbert — both alike and as I described in my last. Please get for me another Rubber Coat the strongest and best and lightest possible. I hear that the English Silk ones are best, but it must be strong enough to wear through brambles and woods, and as waterproof as possible. Please excuse this rough letter. It has just begun to rain again, and I am sitting on the ground and writing on my Knee. Besides, my ink has given out.

All well

Affectionately
Henry.

F. O.

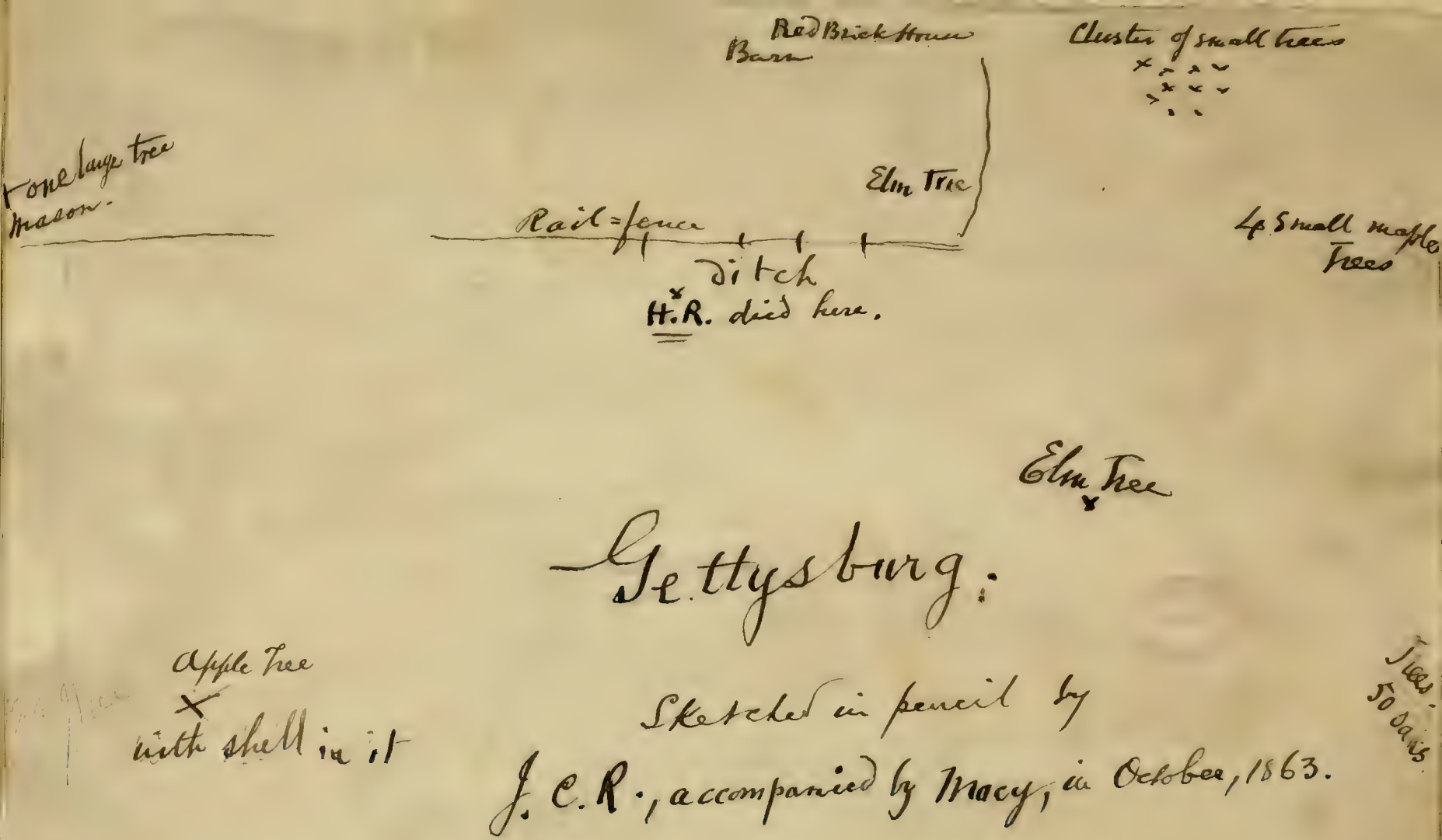
We expect to cross to the Maryland side to-night.
Market all right. Have had no mail yet for a week.

H. C. K.

Saturday 24th 9 a.m.

We crossed last night on Pontoon Bridge and are now about 3 miles from Boonsville. All quiet & Most of the Army is here.

H. C. K.


Red Brick House
Barn
Cluster of small trees
one large tree
mason.
Elm Tree
Rail-fence
ditch
H.R. died here.
4 Small maple
Trees
Elm Tree
Gettysburg.
Apple Tree
with shell in it
Sketched in pencil by
J. C. R., accompanied by Macy, in October, 1863.